THE CAUSE OF IRELAND

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THE

CAUSE OF IRELAND

PLEADED BEFORE THE CIVILIZED WORLD.

BY

BERNARD O'REILLY, D.D.; L. D.; Laval.

> Not e'en the high anointing hand of Heaven
> Can authorize oppression; give a law
> For lawless power; wed faith to violation;
> On reason build misrule, or justly bind
> Allegiance to injustice.
>
> —BROOKE.

NEW YORK:
P. F. COLLIER, PUBLISHER,
11—15 VANDEWATER STREET.

44493

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THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

NO Irish-American who has followed, with anything like a kindly interest, the sufferings and struggles of the Irish at home during the last fifty years, but must have asked himself if these sufferings were never to end, or if such struggles were, at length, to be crowned by the long-prayed-for success.

Yes—we have been long waiting, in our free homes beyond the Atlantic, for the end of these awful trials, prolonged century after century down to the present year, and borne with a fortitude and a hopefulness, which speak more eloquently than inspired voice or pen for the heroic temper of the Irish soul.

We have contributed by word and deed, as the trial deepened, and the struggle became ever fiercer, to soothe the suffering whose source we were powerless to remove, and to aid the brave men and true who were battling for the cause of the Martyr-Nation.

No one, however, on either side of the Atlantic, or on any point of either Hemisphere, where Irish hearts beat responsive to Ireland's fears and hopes, but must have read, in the signs of the times, that the crisis of her fate had come; and that if all her sons, at home and abroad, will only be true to her NOW, and do each a true man's part to help her, success is as surely to be won within the next decade,—perhaps within the next year,—as the sun which sets to-day will rise to-morrow.

To every Irish-American whom this book may reach,—layman, bishop, or priest,—my prayer goes with this, For the dear love of Ireland and the dearest hopes of Christianity, do NOW all that you can to help the cause of Ireland!

The conviction that this crisis had come in Irish affairs, impelled me, after fifty-three years' absence from my native country, to re-visit it, to see with my own eyes the land and the people, and to do what I might toward helping on that sacred cause at a time when every day and hour is pregnant with the fate of the Nation.

Before leaving New York, I thought I knew Ireland as well as most men of my years and position, whose lives have been mostly spent in laboring among her exiled children; and I flattered myself with believing that I had a fair conception and appreciation of our people's qualities. The study of Ireland, present and past, on her own soil, at this momentous conjuncture, and the attentive contemplation of her people as they still subsist, amid the ruins of three thousand years, on that to them most hallowed soil,—have revealed to me a moral greatness of which I could have had no adequate notion.

Seeing what this brave, bright, intellectual, and indomitable old race have endured and survived, how much, through all the wear and grinding of ages, they have preserved of the noblest features of a great national character; seeing, here in Ireland, how fresh and pure in heart they are, how buoyant and hopeful still; how ardently they love the Faith brought to them by St. Patrick, and how invincibly they cling to the certainty of beholding their own loved Erin a Nation;—the conviction forces itself upon me that such a people must be free, and in the near future,—and that before them lies a long lease of national life, a long era of prosperity and happiness, as befits a people still young after thirty centuries of historical existence.

As to this book itself and the purpose for which it is sent forth, some words of explanation are due to the reader.

It aims at showing, from authentic evidence, gathered principally from non-Irish and non-Catholic sources, the enormous WRONG done by England to the "Sister Island." In this single word I would have the reader include the manifold injustice and oppression of ages.

If there exists a fair-minded man, in any quarter of the globe, who calls into question the fact that Ireland has solid grounds for claiming redress from Great Britain for such WRONG; or who doubts whether Irishmen can justify, by reference to the past, their undying hatred of British domination, and their passionate resentment of the state of inferiority, poverty, and degradation to which chronic misrule has brought their native land;—let such a man read this book, and judge for himself.

If, on the other hand, there exists anywhere a man of Irish descent, whom the persistent misrepresentations of the English Press, or the misleading voice of the public opinion formed by it, have induced to believe, that the Irish are an incurably inferior race, and that the permanent misery of which Ireland complains is but the natural outcome of such inferiority,—I only ask him to study carefully the testimony herein adduced to demonstrate the contrary.

All such men, if they will only still further consult the sources from which I have drawn my authorities, must become convinced themselves of the great qualities and virtues of a race whose undeserved misfortunes, and unparalleled resistance to all depressing and debasing influences, call forth the praise of all sincere lovers of truth and goodness, as they have won the admiration of the most enlightened publicists of Europe and America.

Indeed this book was chiefly, if not wholly, written with the hope that it might be, in every Irish-American household, a book from which old and young alike could learn enough to make them proud of Ireland, proud of their Irish blood, and firmly convinced that Ireland's arraignment of British intolerance, cruelty, injustice and misgovernment, is supported by the witness of her own historians and writers.

The work was not undertaken or carried on with any thought of reviving dead and profitless issues, or of stirring up national animosity, antagonisms of race, political or religious passions; but simply for the purpose of establishing the claim of a long and sorely oppressed nation to self-government and the other rights of nationhood, of a sadly maligned and most ancient race to the esteem and admiration of mankind,—the right of one Christian nation grievously wronged by another to long-deferred but inevitable reparation.

The study of Ireland's tragic history, amid her own people, and the records of her Capital City, has filled the writer with a love and reverence for his native country and that same people, which are, in themselves, a rich reward for his labors. He must cherish the hope that these sentiments will pass from these pages into the hearts of his readers.

BERNARD O'REILLY.

Dublin, February 9, 1885.

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THE CAUSE OF IRELAND

PLEADED BEFORE THE CIVILIZED WORLD.

PRELIMINARY.

THE CASE STATED.

THERE is, happily, a Court of Justice higher than any legal tribunal known in the civilized world. There exists a more august, independent, and incorruptible judicial body, than any Legislature, imperial, royal, or republican; an assemblage at once more formidable and more impartial than Commons or Congress, than House of Lords or Supreme Court.

To this tribunal, composed of the fair-minded and enlightened of every clime, this Plea is addressed with the absolute confidence, that it is founded on justice long denied, that it asks for a reparation of the wrongs of seven centuries,—wrongs so manifold and incredible that history has nothing to compare to them in the recorded misdeeds of man toward man, or of any one known people toward another.

And this Plea addresses itself to the great tribunal of public opinion, and through it to the conscience of all mankind, not for the purpose of arousing, increasing, or fostering angry political strife, national animosity, antagonism between neighboring Christian peoples of different race, or the fiercer flames of religious and theological passion; but for the sole purpose that Truth so long unheard or misrepresented in the case of the oppressed nation, may at length so speak to the justice-loving of both hemispheres, that her voice shall, through them, reach the oppressor, and startle him into a sense of his wrong-doing.

Indeed we only seek that, in the light of truth, the right and wrong in the case be thoroughly discussed; and that on the wrong clearly and fully proven Justice shall pronounce her verdict. That, however, Truth may prevail, we are either to be on our guard against prejudice, or to set it generously aside. Prejudice is like jaundice in the eye of the soul : it gives a diseased hue to all the objects of mental vision. This distemper must be cured, if we would see things as they really are.

And prejudices spring up as naturally in the mind, and from a variety of causes, as weeds in a garden. Their seeds are sown by education, religious training, social intercourse, and national or personal bias. Habits of seeing things and persons in a wrong light and of misjudging them in consequence, are formed in the atmosphere of our parental home, in the school-room, the college, the university, in every walk of public and private life. They become a second nature with us. It requires no little courage to acknowledge that we are prejudiced ; no little generosity, when we are convinced of it, to reform our judgment, and to act and speak in accordance with the new light of truth in our intellect.

In the United States, throughout the English-speaking world, in fact, the teaching of the home, the school, the pulpit, and the press has been, in most cases and in the greatest measure, in favor of England and against Ireland, in the vexed question of the former's treatment of the latter. We must not forget,—so far, at least, as the United States are concerned, that they were colonized by Englishmen at the very period, when England, under the Stuarts or the Commonwealth, was putting forth her whole strength in a desperate and final effort to extinguish in Ireland the Catholic religion and to extirpate the remnants there of the Celtic race.

We Americans, in the generous spirit which is daily informing our better judgments and swaying our sentiments, can now afford to remember, with a regretful shame, the undeniable fact, that in the Year of Grace, 1653, and all through the reign of the Commonwealth, our New England as well as our Southern Colonies received yearly by the thousands Irish men and women, Irish boys and girls, hundreds of them of gentle blood, and sent into temporary, if not perpetual, slavery by the decree of Cromwell and the English Parliament, for the sole crime of being "Irish Papists." We cannot, should not forget that in New England, as in Virginia and the Carolinas, and even in Maryland, these noble sufferers for the cause of their cherished nationality and their baptismal faith, were treated with a rigor, an intolerance, an unchristian cruelty, the very idea of which at present revolts the descendants alike of Cavalier and Puritan. The fact is that Episcopalian Virginia persecuted these poor Irish "apprentices" (with this word was "White Slavery" disguised) more relentlessly than Massachusetts, or Connecticut, or Rhode Island.

The very men whose names are still most popular in connection with our colonial infancy, are, many of them, men who were most active and energetic in promoting, in their day, the extermination of the Irish race. I need only mention the name of Sir Walter Raleigh. In another part of this Plea, this worthy shall have to appear in his true character. Now we are only appealing to the large-minded and large-hearted liberality of our own generation, as contrasted with past prejudice, narrow-mindedness, and bitter intolerance.

We ask of the people of the United States, who love truth, and justice, and freedom for their own sakes, and who would fain extend their benefits to every nation and race, to put aside what remains of the old prejudices; to remember that they too, in the persons of their ancestors, wronged these struggling Irish, whom they were taught to hate and despise. Now is the time to repair that wrong.

If the emigrants from the Emerald Isle come to settle on these shores, which, according to some eminent writers, Irishmen were the first or among the first to discover long before the age of Columbus, let Americans consider the long ages of grinding oppression which have produced the poverty, the apparent lack of culture, the unfamiliarity with so many precious things only to be found where religious and civil liberty, social equality, and the development of agriculture, industry, and commerce have made God's earth fruitful, and raised man up to the full stature of manhood.

We shall presently see who is to blame for the unprogressive state of Ireland, and for all the suffering and enforced inferiority apparent in her social condition. We shall see also how wonderful it is, that, after all the labor, the treasure, the blood spent in the endeavor to extirpate this ancient Celtic race, some remnants are still left, and that all the grinding of centuries has not succeeded in obliterating the national features; that all the bitterness with which the Irish heart has been fed for uncounted generations has not deadened in it all the instincts of humanity or quenched its generous warmth. If, on the other hand, Americans remark and acknowledge with pleasure, that in the rich nature of these millions of Irish exiles now become a part of their own great people, there are qualities and virtues which promise to bear glorious fruit in the sunlight of American freedom and prosperity; nay, if that rich nature has, confessedly, already borne such fruit,—then let our free public opinion, enlightened and reformed by such inquiries as the present, react on public opinion in Great Britain itself, and prepare the way for justice to Ireland.

For, strange as the statement may appear to such as have examined what may be called the Irish Question in all its bearings, there exist millions in Great Britain, millions of English-speaking folk throughout her vast colonial empire, and millions in our own Great Republic, who believe that Ireland has no injustice, no misgovernment to complain of; who look upon the ills under which the Irish are suffering as the natural result of Irish inferiority, improvidence, and unprogressiveness. We have heard Englishmen, in England, asking, with evident sincerity: "What have the Irish to complain of? Ireland is one of the best governed parts of the Empire. She is under British law, and enjoys an equal share of

British freedom. Do not all her complaints, all this chronic unrest, these periodical uprisings and rebellions, prove that the fault lies with the Irish themselves, that they are unthrifty and ungovernable? that they are controlled by a creed and a clergy favorable to ignorance and idleness, who encourage neither agriculture, nor commerce, and are themselves the cause of these constantly recurring famines, that plague us like Asiatic cholera, and cause foreign nations to cry out against us?"

Such questions and cruel words containing the quintessence of inveterate prejudice, of blind national antipathy, of religious bigotry, have been time and again uttered by the organs of English public opinion. They can be read in the editorial columns of the leading London journals each time that some appeal for equal justice for Ireland is made to the English Parliament, or that Irish discontent assumes some new and startling form. Nay, it is from a portion of the Irish press that come the fiercest denunciations of the rebellious and impracticable spirit of the majority of the Irish people. In the Capital of Ireland, as we write these lines, we hear the popular leaders and representatives in Parliament accused of the treasonable design of separating their country from British rule, and of dismembering the Empire.

What. then, is the real cause of this chronic discontent, agitation, disorder, disregard and contempt of existing laws? There must surely be a cause. All right-minded persons in Great Britain and Ireland are interested in discerning and clearly understanding the cause. We are of those who believe that the Englishmen of our day are not men who would be willing to perpetuate the reign of unreason and injustice inaugurated by their fathers in another age. We know too—and that is one firm ground of hope for Ireland,—that a great party is fast springing up and gathering around itself the confidence of the popular masses, one of whose avowed aims is the restoration to Ireland of the confiscated right of self-government, and the right as well of using all lawful means for the development of her own natural resources.

These men believe Ireland to be a necessary and integral portion of the triple-unity,—the Three Kingdoms,—which constitute the head and heart, the vital and ruling power of the great British Empire. They believe her to be a most important member of this body politic; they wish her to be a sound, healthy, vigorous, well-affected member, instead of being the disaffected, discontented, diseased, and dangerous limb that she is. Hence their frank recognition that Irish political ills are serious and inveterate, and demand a prompt and generous treatment.

It is to this growing sentiment in England that we address ourselves. In Ireland, too, are generous Irishmen, differing from the majority of their countrymen in religious belief,—but thoroughly convinced of the justice of the former's claim for long withheld equal justice; thoroughly one with them in the faith that Ireland's confiscated nationality shall soon be restored, and that with the restoration a mighty element of strength will be added to the Empire. At this moment the Irish National Party is led by one of these men,—a Protestant and the descendant of an Anglo-Irish family. Others belonging to the same race and the same creed, men of great minds and greater hearts, distinguished Clergymen among them, lend their names, their sympathy, and their active aid to the great movement which enlists the hopes of the Irish Clergy and people, and of some fifteen millions of people of Irish descent outside of Ireland.

It is, principally, for this Greater Ireland that this book has been written, this Plea addressed to all civilized peoples. We Irishmen or descendants of Irishmen all over the globe, wish to justify to our own reason, and to see it brought home to the reason of others,—that our Cause is a just and sacred one,—that the Case of our native country—the native land at least of our ancestors,—is one which rests on irrefragable historical testimony, on the eternal principles of justice and humanity violated in our regard.

Irishmen forced to seek homes for themselves and their dear ones on every land where labor has its reward, and where industry is fostered and honored, have, in spite of the enormous disadvantages of their early training, shown both intelligence and energy in competing with their fellow-workmen. Their success has been such as to surprise and delight their well-wishers, and to silence their detractors. No one of them emigrated to a foreign land to spend a fortune inherited or acquired at home. They went to build up fortunes. It is, and has long been, the misfortune of the laboring classes in Ireland to be born and reared in a country, where agriculture is practised in all but the most pitiable forms, where manufacturing industry is confined to a few localities, and even then narrowed by religious exclusiveness, where the mechanical arts find no encouragement in any profitable market. Hence the helplessness of the great mass of Irish emigrants wherever there was a great field open for skilled labor. But few, comparatively, among them had been bred craftsmen. These few, however, never failed to be among the foremost of their class; while the unskilled were not slow to make of their opportunity a golden one.

Is the Celtic race at home to be held accountable for this backwardness in handicraft, and practical industry? Are Irishmen in Ireland, and because they are Irishmen, to be blamed for the disappearance from their native land of the industrial activity which has made the fortune of both England and Scotland? And, in replying indirectly, at least, to one of the reproaches cast upon the inhabitants of the Emerald Isle, we are pointing to one of the most serious wrongs which English selfishness has inflicted on the Sister Kingdom,—the extinction of all Irish industries and commerce in favor of Metropolitan Monopoly.

Intimately connected with this injustice, is another: that, of the millions collected from the wretched tenantry of Ireland either by the wholly-absentee or the partly-resident landlords, not one half-million is spent for the benefit of the country. Ireland is the only country in the civilized world where the proprietors of the soil take no interest in improving it, and where the improvements made by the hard-working tenantry, instead of belonging to themselves, are confiscated by their landlords. Taking this undeniable fact in connection with the title on which the landlords of Ireland hold their property, we find a complicated case of INJUSTICE and oppression without a parallel in modern times.

There has been a long-standing imputation of idleness and unthriftiness cast upon the masses of the Irish people. A thousand times it has been demonstrated that this enforced idleness is the result of such relations between land and labor, between the proprietors and the tillers of the soil, as exist nowhere else; that it is produced by land-laws devised originally for the express purpose of driving the Irish Papists from the fields taken forcibly from them, or of permitting them, at most, to occupy and cultivate them on conditions never imposed on a Negro slave by a master careful of that slave's health and life.

This Plea must establish this fact once for all, and at the moment, when in Ireland, the relief intended by the Gladstone land-legislation is being made nugatory by the Land-Courts which control the working of the law, and when, in order to defeat the benefits of the Franchise Reform, a vigorous eviction-campaign has begun, crowding the work-houses with thousands, compelling thousands more to seek official outdoor relief,—and thereby disfranchising every man of these unfortunates.

It is surely time that the American People, at least, should be made to understand that the same iniquitous confiscations which deprived a whole nation of their patrimony, and the misgovernment which sacrificed to the benefit of English manufactures and commerce all the industries and foreign trade of Ireland, rendered also mechanical skill impracticable and purposeless in Ireland, made it impossible for her increasing population to find employment and a livelihood at home, and reduced her emigrants in foreign lands to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

The Irishmen of the present generation bitterly feel the slur thus cast upon their manhood; and that bitterness is increased a hundredfold by the consciousness that the fault lies not with themselves, but with the tyrannical alien domination, which has systematically wrought to degrade and unman them. They remember the time,—a time coming after successive periods of exterminating warfare, desolation, and famine, when habits of thrift, skilled labor, and industry had so survived among the sad remnants of the Irish people, that their enemies could not help bearing testimony to the phenomenon. In a book published in London in 1655, by the then Member for Kinsale in the English Parliament, the author all too courageously denounced the cruelty and unreason of "transplanting" the Irish into Connaught from the other provinces. Cromwell's officers and soldiers had been put in possession of the millions of acres given them by the Right of the Sword. It was urged both upon the fanatical Parliament and the soldier-proprietors themselves, that they could not do without the Irish in cultivating lands, which had been purposely wasted and allowed to lie fallow for years in order to starve out the native population. "The soldiers"—the writer said—"had need of the Irish. They had neither stock, nor money to buy stock, nor for the most part, skill in husbandry. But by the labors of the Irish on their land, together with their own industry, they might maintain themselves, improve their lands, and inure themselves to their new mode of life. Moreover, *there were few of the Irish peasantry but were skilful in husbandry, and more exact than any English in the husbandry proper to the country; few of the women but were skilful in dressing hemp and flax, and making woollen cloth. In every hundred men there were five or six masons and carpenters at least, and those more ready and handy in building ordinary houses, and much more skilful in supplying the defects of instruments and materials than English artificers. They have always been known as uncommon masters of the art of overcoming difficulties by contrivances.*"*

Such were the Irish peasantry, men and women, 230 years ago. Did the English Parliament and the men who ruled Ireland for Cromwell yield to the remonstrance of this writer, himself the son of one of the "planters" of James I., but born in Ireland, and not totally blind to the gifts and qualities of this detested Irish race? No;—far from it. The fever of hatred caused in England by Cromwell's massacres and all the blood shed by his lieutenants, was at its height. Nothing was grateful to the ear of Parliament or to the public taste of the hour, but what savored of the purpose of utterly exterminating these "Irish idolaters." So the book which dared to suggest the retaining of these "transplanted" on the lands forcibly taken from them, was condemned to be burned by the common hangman!

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* "The Great Case of Transplantation in Ireland Discussed," &c., by Vincent Gookin. 4to, London, 1655; as quoted by Mr. Prendergast, "Cromwellian Settlement," p. 134.

And, since the year 1655, what have the Rulers of Ireland and the hostile landed aristocracy created by Cromwell's "Curse" done to promote industry, to stimulate labor, to reward the skill of the craftsman, to make of the lot of the laborer on Irish soil, or the home of the tenant, a something superior to the lot of the Hottentot, or the hut of the Greenland Esquimaux?

Again, it is needful that this Plea should go forth in this present year, that it may be clearly demonstrated, that the disposition of the Irish peasant is neither murderous, nor vindictive, nor forgetful of benefits received, nor callous to the noblest and tenderest feelings of humanity;—that the education received around the lowly hearthstone of the poorest Irish home, as well as the teaching of the Irish Pulpit, and the whole influence of the Irish Priesthood, instead of fostering the angry passions begotten by antagonism of race, by the oppression of the laboring classes by the Proprietors, by such chronic maladministration of the law that it is only known to the people as a ministration of crying injustice; but, on the contrary, that the atmosphere of these poverty-stricken homes is one of gentleness and purity, of kindness and charity, and that nothing but the influence and interference of the Priesthood and the power exercised by the religion of the Crucified over the souls tried by all the varieties of suffering, could prevent the righteous wrath of a people so wronged and trampled upon from rising like a mighty flood and sweeping away all barriers and restraints.

We shall see in the course of our argument how often, since the year 1162, the native Irish races in their unselfish trustfulness, allowed the foreign settlers or conquerors to have access to the family circle, never failing in the end to make friends of enemies, and to thoroughly tame and assimilate them. We have, to this effect, the remarkable testimony of a living writer, himself a Protestant, and bearing the name of one of the families who came over with the Anglo-Norman invader. Become, like so many others, thoroughly Irish himself, no prejudice of race or religion can blind him to the native beauty of the Irish character. Speaking of the Vincent Gookin just mentioned, he says:

"Living among the Irish, he had as usual learned to love them. He had appreciated that hearty, affectionately loyal race of men, who seem to be fresh from nature's hand, and to belong to an earlier and uncorrupted world. His land-hunger had been appeased. He was possessed of considerable estates. He had tasted of the social freedom, the easy and animated life of an unsubdued people." *

Elsewhere, accounting for the suddenness with which the first Norman invaders became Irish in manners, language, laws, and life, he says:

"In the spirited character of the Irish the new settlers found themselves in the presence of a people of original sentiments and institutions, the native vigor of whose mind had not been weakened by another mind. Nothing surprised the invader more than the natural boldness and readiness of the Irish in speaking and answering even in the presence of their chieftains and princes, accustomed as the invaders were to the servile habits of the English, produced, as Giraldus says, either by long slavery, or (more probably, Wadds) by the innate dulness of men of Saxon and German stock. They were equally astonished at the freedom and familiarity of the Irish gentry with their poorer followers, so different from the haughty reserve of an aristocracy of foreign descent towards the lower classes of a subject nation reduced by conquest to the state of villeins and serfs. Free by nature, the Irish were followers of nature and freedom in all things." †

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* John P. Prendergast, "The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland," 2d ed. (Dublin), p. 135.

† *Ibidem*, p. 11.

When, therefore, we find a people by nature so gentle, so amiable, so open to all the sweetest charities of social intercourse, breaking forth into acts of savage vindictiveness, the obvious inference is or ought to be that there must exist some extraordinary provocation. This also we have to establish in our Plea.

As to the charge of ignorance cast so unreflectingly on the Irish people, and the still graver charge of fostering ignorance, made against their religious guides, we might be content to refer our kind readers to a future chapter, where, unless we are sadly mistaken, the tables are turned upon the accuser. Suffice it here to remark that when it was made by the English Parliament a crime to the Irish Catholic to teach or to be taught in conformity with the principles of his own creed, the reproach of ignorance or ignorantism comes with a very ill grace from the English Protestants who made the abominable law.

"They divided the nation into two distinct parties," says Edmund Burke, "without common interest, sympathy, or connection. One of these bodies was to possess all the franchises, all the property, all the education. The other was to be composed of drawers of water, and cutters of turf for them." *

Such is one utterance among many condemnatory of this supreme and inconceivable injustice toward a Christian people, from one of the greatest men of all time, another of these men of Anglo-Irish blood, born and educated among that warm-hearted Celtic race, fascinated by their many lovable and generous qualities, and indignant at the unmerited wrongs heaped upon them.

The one great crime of the Irish people,—of the native Celtic race whom Strongbow and Henry II. found in possession of Ireland,—and of their descendants down to the time of the Commonwealth, was *that the land belonged to them by right*, and *that the English wanted it.* The struggle between the two races,—the crimes, the wrongs, the accumulated injustice of seven centuries and a quarter were inspired by, and are the fruit of, one great moving force, LAND-HUNGER in the English breast.*

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* "Works," Boston Ed. 1807, vol. iii., p. 452.

This land-hunger,—so far as the possession and division of Irish land could appease it,—obtained all that it craved for at the final settlement under William and Mary. But the Transplanted and dispossessed,—the descendants of the former tillers of the soil and herdsmen, of the wandering Creaghts and wood-kerne,—kept what hold they could of the soil. Little less than miraculous is the fact that any of these persecuted, hunted, decimated people should have survived the awful massacres, the exterminating warfare carried on against them "to root them out" of their native soil ! But the roots resisted fire and sword, though plied again, again, and again, century after century.

They still keep "their grip" of the soil. And now the question is: Which class shall survive—the lords of the soil or its tillers? the landed Aristocracy created by "Cromwell's Curse" on Ireland, or the oppressed, proscribed, half-starved, and cruelly wronged tenants and farm-laborers of Ireland ?

We shall not prophesy here. We have only to say,—that the whole question on which our Plea turns is the question of LAND in Ireland.

It has been a struggle for land between Irishman and Englishman from the beginning. It is so still.

We have only to show that Right and Justice were on the side of Ireland in this long battle; that Might and Wrong were on the side of England.

To approach the question of Right in this matter, and to qualify one's-self for pronouncing a conscientious verdict, we must consider what both the Land and the People were before England put forward her claim to the possession of the one and the obedience of the other; under what pretence of justice, religion, or policy, she began her process of expropriating the native owners of the soil; what methods she employed in obtaining and holding the Land, and in dealing with the dispossessed proprietors.

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* The London TIMES, commenting in its issue of Nov. 29, 1861, on a Resolution of the Government of India, opening up the entire soil of India to English settlers, remarks that "the Resolution . . . . appeals to one of the strongest passions in the human breast, the love of land. In most nations this feeling is strong, but in the British population the love of land is powerful in the extreme. Our colonial wars are simply wars for land. We fight for land in New Zealand, at the Cape. and wherever we settle." Quoted by Mr. Prendergast.

These inquiries will lead us to the further Question: What England has done with the Land and the People thus conquered by brute force?

Our conclusion must be: What does she purpose to do? What does her best interests counsel her to do?

PART FIRST.

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE—BEFORE THE ENGLISH INVASION.

Importance of not confounding the appearance of Ireland as she is to-day, with the Ireland of the Celtic period.

IT is very important, in order to judge aright of the evils which the English domination has inflicted on the Land and the Nation, that we should have a correct notion of their condition in the year 1169, when the Anglo-Norman adventurers landed at Wexford. Did they find on their arrival a country as wild and uncultivated as was New England at the landing of the Puritan Pilgrims? Were the Irish of the 12th century as uncivilized as the Indian tribes of Massachusetts and Rhode Island? Or was the coming of these foreigners, like a heavy frost in midsummer, a calamity which marred the development of a previous civilization, blighting all the promise of an advanced springtide?

That Ireland was not the moral wilderness certain English writers would have the world believe, is certain beyond all questioning. That her people were not the savages the English popular mind pictures to itself even at the present day, is equally certain. The denominations of "Wild Irish" and "Mere Irish," helped to cover, during centuries, the enormities of the Conquerors, and to justify to English public opinion the most terrible crimes against humanity and civilization.

Nothing could be more misleading than to judge of the Ireland of 1169, by a hasty survey of the Ireland of 1885. Travelers from America are exposed to form very wrong conclusions by a few days or a few weeks spent in the country, satisfied with the imperfect glimpses obtained from the windows of a railroad-carriage, or a day's journey on an open car to the chief points of interest in the South, West, and North of Ireland, or a stay of a few days in the principal cities to visit the public edifices, the libraries, and museums.

To the superficial examiner the Ireland of our day affords very few, if any, indications of what the country and the nation were in the time of St. Patrick, or that of the Second Henry. Let us, therefore, look both at the Land and at its Celtic population, as the most trustworthy historians describe them.

I.

IRELAND IN THE YEAR OF CHRIST 432.

THE Island was covered, in its length and breadth, with forests. So was it found by the first colonists, whatever their name, who reached this westernmost extremity of Europe after the Dispersion. The stately growth of timber was favored by the genial mildness of the climate, and by the perpetual humidity derived from the tepid vapor-laden atmosphere of the Gulf-Stream coming here in contact with the cold air of the northern seas. And so long as the ancient inhabitants were left in possession of their lands, they not only abstained from a wasteful destruction of their native woods, but were careful to foster their growth wherever needed. Of this we shall have evidence further on.

St. Patrick and his missionary companions, at their arrival, in 432, found these primeval forests interspersed with broad ploughlands and pasturages, which bore the crops and fed the large herds and flocks of a half-agricultural, half-pastoral people. Their habitations, like most of those in Continental Europe, at that period, were always erected in secure and easily defensible positions, sometimes on the fortified summit of a hill, or on a steep acclivity, or in islands on their numerous beautiful lakes, and, in some instances, they were built on strong piles driven into the lake itself, as were the Lake Dwellings discovered and described in our day by scientists in Switzerland and elsewhere.

For, before St. Patrick's time as well as then, Ireland was exposed to visits from sea-rovers, as well as to regular invasion from some of the wandering tribes impelled continually by the terrible land-hunger from the teeming soil of Asia toward the West. Besides, Ireland itself, though apparently inhabited by people speaking but the one Keltic tongue, had traditions and bore traces of having received, at different intervals, colonies of which the last come would displace or subdue the earlier. And, moreover, the tribal communities which then divided the Island among themselves, even if they did coalesce occasionally for defensive purposes, or assemble for certain annual festivities, lived a very independent life. Then, unhappily, as long afterward, the great tribal chieftains of one province made war on each other. And the inferior chiefs imitated those above them. So that, if the inhabitants of the sea-coast and the interior could feel secure against attacks from without, they were never safe from the raids of their neighbors.

And yet, nothing of what authentic history relates of the bickerings and wars of the 5th century in Ireland, would authorize the conclusion, that the Celts of that age were a savage and blood-thirsty race. On the contrary, the very attraction which Patrick, escaped from his bondage in Ireland, felt for that kindly, gentle race whom he had left in Pagan darkness. There is no instance in the history of Christianity of a people converted to the belief in the doctrines of the Gospel and the practice of its divine morality, with so little of bloodshed or violence. The nature-worship brought by the ancient Kelts from the cradle of their race in Asia, and additions made to it later by the Phenician traders and the colonies founded by them along the coast, had a deep hold of the people. They were a part of the dear, mysterious, sacred land of Asia to which all looked back with a reverential and filial love, and a part as well of the national life in their island-home in the Far West. The Druidical teaching with its mystic rites, its solemn celebrations, its occasional awful sacrifices, and the perfect system of Brehon law, which regulated every relation of public and private life in connection with the national worship,—could not be set aside and utterly abandoned without a struggle.

At any rate, the struggle was virtually a bloodless one. A simple, peaceful, pastoral race, intelligent withal and keenly alive to the sense of the true, the morally beautiful, the Godlike in life and practice,—soon opened their minds and hearts to the light of the Gospel, illustrated especially by the saintly examples of its apostles, and the virtues of their first followers. When Patrick died, in a patriarchal old age in 492, the entire nation had embraced the Christian faith.

This fact itself and its attendant circumstances afford an argument in favor of the people. Presently we shall examine the structure of the Celtic society which St. Patrick found in the Island, and the features of the principal social institutions. A word about the intercourse then held by Ireland with the rest of the world, in the first centuries of the Christian Era, and of its effect on the state of civilization among them, will not be out of place here.

Under the name of Ierne the island had been well known to all the nations of the Mediterranean sea-board. Long before Rome was founded the ships of Aradus, Tyre, and Sidon, had found their way to the eastern and southern shores of Spain. They had founded Gades (the modern Cadiz), and erected the beautiful city. They had ascended the broad and deep bosom of the Boetis, and founded, or, rather, enlarged, beautified, and strengthened Hispalis (the modern Seville). They had explored the western shore of the Peninsula, from Lisbon to Cape Finisterre, learning from the Kelts of Galicia, if they had not already learned it from the Kelts of Andalusia,—that long before their arrival, a colony of the GAEL had settled on the uttermost verge of Europe, on that Ierne, the last spot of land on which the sun's light rested, before the great luminary disappeared from the eyes of men.

One spot, at least, on the southern coast of Ireland still bears a name which points to a Phenician settlement or trading station. Baltimore (*Baal-Ti-More*) 'the Great House of Baal,' keeps its ancient title in spite of the long lapse of ages and of all the revolutions and destructions which its broad bay, and the adjoining archipelago of 'Carbery's hundred isles,' have witnessed. Most beautiful was the aspect of islands and mainland, when the Phenician galleys entered the roadstead, and cast anchor within the shelter of that encircling amphitheatre of wooded hills. They built a mart for commerce around the rocky point on which later The O'Driscoll reared his Castle, and there, most probably, stood the tower on whose summit Baal's sacred fire burned for many a long year afterward. They ascended the Ilen up almost to the walls of the modern Skibbereen, but which in the remote past, was only one of the populous centres of a fruitful region. The neighboring isles were not then the treeless, wind-swept, poverty-stricken wastes which Mountjoy and Carew, Broghill and Cromwell afterwards made them. No portion of the sunny Galician coast in Spain, not even the Italian Riviera and the lovely shores of Sorrentum, no, not even those more enchanting still of their own Phenicia, afforded to these explorers of the deep a series of more restful, fresh, and blissful scenes than were presented by the succession of broad estuaries, embowered harbors, grand mountain scenery, and a climate, which, at that period, must have seemed one perpetual spring-tide.

For, as science with its careful observations has taught us, the mean temperature of both winter and summer in the whole northern hemisphere, has been gradually getting lower for ages. We can, therefore, picture to ourselves what the climate of Ireland must have been 3,000 years ago, when the warm waters of the Gulf-stream and its tepid atmosphere were more in harmony with the ever-lasting softness of the native air, and when the luxuriant woods and ever-green pastures, could have made the new-comers fancy that this was, in truth, the Isle of the Blessed.

Further south, and nearer still to the ocean-pathway followed by these venturesome seafarers, is another lovely river, the modern Blackwater, forming at its mouth the once much-frequented harbor of Youghal, and across the peninsula which protects town and harbor from the fury of the Atlantic storms, is the lofty promontory of Ardmore with another broad bay between its precipitous cliffs and the gently sloping hills more southward still. Few are the traces now left of the magnificent forests of oak which clad promontory, hills and plain. Sir Walter Raleigh's axe was busily plied along these shores, when in reward of the blood he spilt like water, Elizabeth bestowed upon him Youghal with 42,000 acres, and the ancient monasteries founded by the Geraldines. Many and many a ship bore the felled timber to France and Spain. But in the palmy days of Phenician commerce, and when the Mithraic or Stellar worship of the ancient Kelt held its sway all over the land, Ardmore was a centre of Druidical learning. Near the Round Tower on the hillside, and within the roofless sanctuary of St. Declan's Cathedral, they will show you the ancient stones with the Ogham characters, which are the oldest known to Western Europe. Were these anterior to the Phenician Alphabet?

It was not an infertile soil, at any rate, to which the Phenician traders brought their intellectual culture, with their commercial wares. We give these bold navigators, so far advanced in all the industrial arts, credit for the invention of the alphabet. It would be hard to establish this in a satisfactory manner. There is a tradition among the Jews that one of the ante-diluvian patriarchs, in prevision of the coming destruction of mankind, inscribed on stone monuments a history of the world down to his own time. The Greeks attribute the invention to one of their own race. And then, we have to account for the traditions of the Babylonians, Egyptians, Indians, and Chinese. The ancient Kelts came from that same Asia which gave birth to all these civilizations and literatures. They were not savages, but a civilized race, when they turned their faces westward, only stopping when the limitless Ocean left them no further lands to conquer or explore. Was there between the Ogham characters and the Phenician Alphabet any connection?

Few as are the relics of Keltic literary and artistic genius spared to us by the destruction successively wrought all over Ireland by Heathen Dane, Christian Norman, by English Catholic Kings and Lord-Deputies in pre-Reformation times, as well as by Tudors, Stuarts, Roundheads, and the "Protestant Ascendency" since then,—

these few suffice to prove that St. Patrick and his companions found, on their arrival, a civilized people in Ireland.

The archæological treasures of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, those of Trinity College Library, of the British Museum, and of other public and private collections in the Three Kingdoms demonstrate this truth beyond the possibility of Doubt. The "Book of Kells" is nearly contemporary with St. Patrick. The pictorial art which it reveals bears unmistakable traces of Phenician and Eastern origin. With all its imperfections it is a marvel in its way. And yet, it was only one work among hundreds,—among thousands, we might say without venturing too far,—which might have been found in the monastic homes of learning.

We shall see in another place how Keltic art may have been improved by contact with the Phenician. Did civilization go backward in the Island when Sidon and Tyre and Byblos fell, and the Carthaginians possessed themselves of Gades and Hispalis, without continuing the traditional voyages of their more nobly ambitious kinsmen? We can only say that St. Patrick found the people of Ierne or Hibernia, as the Romans called it, not only worthy of the Gospel, but ready to obey the mighty impulse which the new doctrine was to give to their entire social system.

The population of the Island was divided into tribes or *Septs.* These were composed of groups of families bearing the name of their common ancestor, or some patronymic indicating their common descent. And this name designated the district or territory allotted to them or conquered originally by the founders of the Sept. All over the Island, in 432, the Keltic or Gaelic was the only language spoken. There is, therefore, every reason to think that the people were of the same stock.

Their tribal organization seemed to be a consequence of this community of origin. The entire structure of society among them indicated a patriarchal and primitive state. The family was the social unit. The father's absolute authority resembled that of the head of a family in Rome in the early ages of the Great Republic. The head of the Tribe was, probably, at first, the nearest in direct descent to the common ancestor. When the necessity of offensive and defensive warfare compelled the tribesmen to choose the foremost in valor, in ability, and influence, then the chieftaincy became elective. At any rate they had, at a very early date, a national code of laws, fixing the relations of all the members of the community toward each other, regulating the whole civil and religious life of the tribe and the nation, establishing public officers to keep sacredly the written code, the genealogy of each family and the records of the entire Tribe, Judges to administer the law, and schools in which both the ministers of religion and those who were to be in their turn the lawyers and judges of the Tribe might acquire their professional knowledge.

Let us look a little more closely into all the conditions of society in the Ireland of the 5th century. To very many persons what is related of them even by the most reliable historians, seems like the half-fancies half-realities of mythological lore. Still are they no fanciful inventions on which rests our knowledge of Brehon Law and the institutions derived from it.

Looking at the Irish people of St. Patrick's age, we find them, in many respects, so divided, that one could scarcely call this agglomeration of Septs, with their loose provincial governments, by the name of that compact organic whole we call a nation.

Indeed the Septs and their territorial divisions might appear at first sight to be rather a loose aggregation of organisms, than one well organized body, with a recognized head and dependent members, acting in subordination for all the purposes of a common social life. Yet, though Ireland's remote insular position did not compel her Septs about the middle of the 5th century, to form a solid, permanent union, acting like one man against enemies from without, the biographers of St. Patrick and other native writers of the century next following, attest that the Irish had then their solemn national assemblies. It was at one of these that the Apostle made his most successful appeal to the reason of his hearers, and in favor of the doctrines of Christianity. There was an obstinate, though not a bloody, struggle between the popular idolatry with its powerful and influential institutions and the new creed, preached by strangers, inculcating self-denying and self-sacrificing virtues, as well as belief in mysteries far transcending the natural sphere of reason.

Nevertheless the religion of the Crucified prevailed. It had become the national religion ere the death of St. Patrick (492). And the law of the Gospel, admitted as the law of the true life by the entire Irish people, was incorporated with the Brehon Law.

We are not left in doubt respecting these important facts. The SENCHUS MOR still remains to us, like the "Book of Kells," as a monumental witness, almost miraculously preserved through the long and savage warfare waged against all that belonged to the "Mere Irish," all that could recall the Catholic civilization of the first age of Christianity in Ireland.

What, then, is this *Senchus Mor?* It is a compilation of the ancient Brehon Laws as thus modified by Christianity,—the old and the new being fitted together and harmonized under the united superintendence of the Apostle and of the converted Brehons, Bards, and Druids. From the middle of the 5th century to the year 1613, under James I., the Senchus Mor regulated the public life and the private dealings of the Irish people. In the year last mentioned, Sir John Davies, the King's Attorney General, with the Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, made the circuit of Ulster, holding assizes in various localities, superseding the Brehon by the English Law, and compelling the people to deliver up their ancient manuscript codes.

Happily the great Code itself has survived the vandalism of that age and the following. There is a singularly pregnant passage in the Introduction to the Body of the Work itself. Evidently the writer wished to express the great truth taught by St. Paul, again and again declared by Doctors, Popes, and Councils, and so solemnly proclaimed in 1870 by the Council of the Vatican, that God is the creator of the natural and supernatural orders, that from Him come to us both the Law of Nature and the Law of Grace, and that the same Spirit who spoke to the holy men of old is the same who inspired the Apostles and writers of the New Law. "How the judgment of true nature"—so the text reads—"which the Holy Ghost had spoken through the mouths of the Brehons and just poets of the men of Erin, from the first occupation of the island down to the reception of the faith, were all exhibited by Dubhtach (the Chief Brehon) to Patrick, what did not clash with the word of God in the written law and in the New Testament, and with the consciences of the believers, was confirmed in the Law of the Brehons by Patrick, and by the ecclesiastics and chieftains of Erin. For the Law of Nature had been quite right, except the Faith and its obligations, and the harmony of the Church and the people."

The Catholic theologian will have no difficulty in seizing the sense of this passage, in spite of the obscurity induced by a literal rendering. It is clear enough, however, that this Harmony between the Christian precepts and the old Heathen legislation was the joint work of "Patrick and the Brehons," together with "the Ecclesiastics and Chieftains of Erin." Here are the elements of nationality drawn and bound together by the mighty forces of a common faith, a common jurisprudence, a common language, and a common descent. The Senchus Mor is thus an eloquent witness to the ancient nationality and high civilization of the Irish.

Long before St. Patrick, moreover, the Celts of Ireland had codified separately their criminal law. About the middle of the 3d century (250) was compiled the Book of Aicill. These compilations, with other literary Celtic remains collected from different points of the British Isles and Continental Europe, are now the object of scientific study, and bring more and more distinctly into light the polity, literature, and arts of a people represented as a myth.

How, then, was the possession of land, the very basis of national existence, regulated by the Brehon Code? This question has not a little importance, as bearing upon the crying "impositions" practised upon the Celtic population of Ireland, in all the changes in land proprietorship and tenure afterward made by the English.

As we have already briefly stated, each Sept held their lands in common. It was only when the chieftaincy became hereditary in the same family, that the liberal portion of land allotted to the Chief, began to be viewed by himself or his kinsmen in the light of what we should now call "property." These encroachments on the rights of the Sept, and the prescriptions of the Brehon Law, came in with the practice of Feudalism in Ireland by the Anglo-Norman nobles. But, even under the Tudors and Stuarts, when the great Irish Chieftains were driven into rebellion, that their lands might be seized as forfeited to the Crown, the Irish protested against the injustice thus done to the members of the Sept or Septs subject to the attainted Chief, on the ground, that, according to Irish Law, the lands did not belong to the chief to be by him disposed of, or forfeited by any act of his.

Lands were also allotted to the Druids for religious purposes and their own maintenance, without, however, ceasing to belong to the Sept. When the Druidical Corporations were superseded by the Christian Clergy, the lands allotted to the former were, naturally, assigned to the maintenance and use of the latter. Large grants are mentioned as made to St. Patrick by the Kings or Overlords, and by various inferior chieftains. Grants and assignments were also made for the support of the numerous Churches with their respective clergy, established and multiplied all over the Island by the Apostle. He was anxious that every Sept throughout the land should be well provided with the spiritual ministrations of the new faith. The people were a pastoral people living in dwellings that were in conformity with their occupations, their manners, and the needs of the climate. The Creaghts, or that portion of them specially occupied in pasturing the herds and flocks, followed with their families their charge as these changed their pasturage in summer and winter. Patrick, who, during his first captivity in Erin, had been employed as a herdsman, knew well what the needs of this, the greater portion of the population, were, and provided chapels and priests for them, whithersoever they had to migrate. No part of his flock was thus neglected by this good shepherd. The priests, whose numbers the holy man thus multiplied, were men, who wished to emulate the devotion of himself and his saintly companions. The Irish people were a people of brothers; the first priests, no matter what their birth, were of the people, and devoted, heart and soul, to this people of fervent neophytes.

The whole Island, therefore, before the close of the 5th century, swarmed with churches, each one of which, served by zealous priests, became a centre of incredible religious activity. The priests kept up the literary traditions of their predecessors, the Druids, and not only made of their churches schools of Christian Doctrine, but of their houses schools of secular knowledge.

More than this:—St. Patrick, trained in the monasteries founded by St. Martin near Tours in France, in the great Monastic Schools of the Island of Lerius founded by St. Honoratus, and who had afterward seen the semi-monastic rule given in Milan to the clergy by St. Ambrose, and flourishing in Rome itself in the dwelling of the Popes, —gave to the Irish clergy that same semi-monastic form. At any rate Monastic Houses of men and women arose and flourished in every direction.

Each Sept, as Christianity thus penetrated every home and heart, and as Church and Monastery and School sprang up, like the sudden growth of some marvelous spring-tide,—made a generous allotment of lands for each of these institutions. The Monasteries and the great and world-renowned Monastic Schools thus founded in the territory of each Sept, were considered as a part of the Sept itself. The lands set apart for their maintenance, though consecrated to sacred uses, were not so entirely given to God, as to be alienated and lost for ever to the Sept. The Irish Tribes never yielded up their *altum dominium* in Church property.

Another public institution for which the Pagan Irish provided most liberally was Hospitality. This, of course, was too much in conformity with the spirit and letter of the Gospel, not to be taken up and fostered by St. Patrick and his successors. The function of dispensing hospitality in the name of the Sept was deputed to some of their noblest men. These were called Hospitalers (Irish, *Biatach*). The office always deemed to be sacred in pagan times, was held to be much more so by the Christian Irish, both because all the beautiful examples of patriarchal hospitality shone out like bright pictures from the pages of the Old Testament, and because the New Testament enjoined its practice as one of the functions of Christian Charity. When the Eighth Henry suppressed and seized upon Religious Houses all over Ireland, he found of these noble establishments,—an unique institution even among Christian nations,—90 in Connaught, 90 in Ulster, 120 in Leinster, and 1030 in Munster,—in all 1,330! "For the Irish knew (to quote the words of Dr. Lynch in his *Cambrensis Eversus* *) and obeyed the admonition of the Apostles and the precept of St. Peter, that Christians should observe hospitality one towards another, without murmuring; and also of St. Paul, 'Hospitality do not forget, for by this some, not being aware of it, have entertained angels,'—namely, Abraham and Lot among others."

Right royally, therefore, did these great-hearted Celts provide for all public needs. But where, in St. Patrick's time, was there a public provision made for the poor? The answer is a very simple one: in St. Patrick's age, in Ireland there was no class at all resembling our *poor*. The land was, literally, teeming with milk and honey. For, besides the innumerable herds of kine which formed the chief wealth of the people, there were laws protecting and regulating apiculture or the rearing of bees and the production of honey,—hydromel or a mixture of water and honey being the chief beverage among all classes. And, further still, the nation was a nation of brothers, among whom every man and woman born on Irish soil had their places at the hearthstone of their own families. A people who so generously provided for the entertainment of the wayfarer and the stranger, were not likely to forget the infirmities or the need of their own near flesh and blood.

But, while thus displaying a wise and liberal munificence, the

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* Vol. ii., pp. 243-47, Edition of Celtic Society, Dublin, 1850.

Septs, the whole people, were tenacious of their right to the land. They looked upon that right as undisputed and imprescriptible. It was, together with their loyalty to the Faith of St. Patrick, the one thing which they never would yield, or barter away, or bargain for through their long national misfortunes. It is the one thing to which they still hold in their heart of hearts, for the restoration of which they are willing to wait, to suffer and to struggle, in the undying hope that Right shall at length prevail over Might.

The principal public institutions which existed in each tribe were those for education and hospitality. The spirit of Christianity afterwards enlarged and perfected them; but they were so admirable in themselves that they easily obeyed the laws of the highest progress. The Druids and Bards were at the head of the schools of Ireland, when the first Christian missionaries landed there. Secular and religious learning were combined and imparted by the same masters. We find, under Elizabeth, the Brehon Schools bestowing as much as they were permitted to do, of university education, to the Irish youth who were driven with their masters into the wilderness—the deep forest, the bog, and the mountain-cave. The extraordinary ardor with which the youth, if not the manhood of all Ireland flocked to the schools established by St. Patrick and his companions, proves how powerfully the appetite for intellectual culture had been developed in the nation before their arrival.[*]

The other great tribal,—we should say national,—institution, was the exercise of public hospitality. This proves the frequent and brotherly intercourse which obtained between Sept and Sept, between what we might call province and province. Strangers coming at any time and no matter in what numbers, were entertained at the public expense. In order that hospitality should be exercised without stint in the name of the tribe, the province, and the whole nation, a portion of the public lands were set aside, proper buildings erected and furnished, and one of the most distinguished tribesmen selected to preside over the establishment, cultivate, develop, and administer the estate set apart for this important purpose.

These Hospitality Houses became still more important as the fame of the great Monastic Schools of Ireland afterward increased, and as scholars and others flocked in great numbers from Britain and the Continent to these great nurseries of learning and piety.

To this large, liberal, and progressive spirit of these ancient Celts no slight incentives were brought by the commerce which the Phenicians, even in their decline, contrived to keep up with Ireland, and which the maritime nations inheriting the commercial spirit of Tyre and Sidon, maintained with Spain and Gaul and the Western Isles. The Irish themselves loved the sea. Their large craft made warlike expeditions to Britain and the Continent and as far east as the Mediterranean,—just as in later times they visited Iceland, Greenland, and the nearest coasts of North America. From this mutual intercourse learning, the fine arts, and every branch of industry must have received a beneficial impulse.

Just as the traders' ship which bore from the near port of Cæsarea the fugitive disciples of the martyred St. James, with the precious body of their master, to the coast of north-western Spain, up the magnificent Bay of Arosa to the shores near which arose Compostella, even so from Galicia merchantmen sailed in those ages to the westernmost land of the Gael, and entered that Bay of Galway, whose very name bears witness to the ancient brotherly intercourse between East and West. There is another witness to the existence of a thriving commerce in these far-off times, and that is the Great Walled Highway from Galway to Dublin. . . . Strange, that men should, at this very moment, busy themselves with the idea,—a noble and fertile one,—of opening a mighty ship-canal along that same great highway of commercial travel in ancient times,—which, as the Twentieth Century is about to dawn, should, by the divine right of Nature, become the shortest path for the commerce of two worlds, nay, the commerce of the entire globe. The ship-canals of Panama and Nicaragua will draw to them the commerce of Further Asia and the Pacific. From the Gulf of Mexico the pathway of commerce lies straight to Galway Bay. Who will open a short and safe road for the mercantile fleets of the next century from Galway to Dublin, the coast of Britain, and the European continent? England will surely, ere another quarter of a century has passed, find it her interest to spend her millions in such enterprises as this.

That the highways of commerce were for Celtic Ireland the highways of civilization, we have ample proof. No one can visit the treasury of the Royal Irish Academy, and examine carefully the pure gold ornaments collected there, collars (or torques), rings, bracelets, magnificent shawl- and mantle-pins or fibulæ, and recall the gold ornaments just discovered in the home of the Atridæ or among the ruins of Troy, without comparing Irish art with the far-off contemporaneous art of Greece and Asia. Alas, in unfortunate Erin the graves of the dead have been again and again rifled of their treasures. The golden ornaments our museums can boast of, have been yielded up by bog and morass or ploughed with the soil on the field. So is it with the prehistoric weapons of the ages of bronze and iron, spearheads, knives, hatchets, swords, as well as with other relics of the remote past.

Before the arrival of the Christian Missionaries in 432, the Irish Septs had followed their great chief, Niel of the Nine Hostages, on warlike expeditions not only against the neighboring island of Britain, but against the Gallo-Romans on the adjoining continent. His progeny, the O'Neills, formed a kind of sacred stock in the eyes of the Irish, and were the hereditary overlords or kings of Ulster. In the other great territorial divisions some one of the most warlike and powerful Septs managed to obtain by free choice or force the local overlordship. Certain it is, that the rank of supreme ruler of the whole island never became the appanage of any one family. Down to the 12th century both the provincial kings and the monarch of all Ireland were elective.

The democratic form, based on the Sept or tribal organization, prevailed not only in each Sept, but in the groups of Septs forming a province, and in the assembled nation.

Taken, together with the densely wooded condition of the country, and the lack of cohesion between the Septs and groups of Septs,—this state of things offered but little prospect of union or unity for defensive or offensive purposes. We shall have evidence of this organic weakness in the ineffectual and straggling efforts made to repel the first Danish invasions, as well as in the apparent listlessness with which the nation, as a whole, afterward resisted the settlement and encroachments of the Anglo-Normans.

However, the biographers of St. Patrick unite in saying, that, in his day, Leoghaire (pronounce *Layrie*) seems to have had all the power and influence of supreme ruler over the whole Island.

The warlike passion which took possession of some Princes and made them lead their followers on some conquering expedition or plundering raid, only flamed out on rare occasions. Their military prowess effected nothing permanent either abroad or at home. The nation were contented and happy within their own insular position. Like the Twelve Tribes of Israel within their national territory,—they had a nobler, higher purpose in their existence, the culture of all the elements of Christian civilization and social progress. They too were to be the Salt of the earth.

The person elected to this overlordship, whether in each province or in the whole Island, was assigned certain lands and certain rights of tribute in each Sept in the Province, and in each province in the Kingdom, as the case might be. But whatever lands were thus assigned or whatever tax or tribute permitted to be levied,—it was well defined and understood that both land and tribute were only given for the use of the office and the life of the office-holder. No part of the land of the Sept could be alienated to even a king. And as there existed no State properly so called, there was no national domain, no State property, apart from the sacred and inviolable patrimony of the Septs themselves.

These great Chieftains, even when the rank they held was hereditary in one line, did not always transmit their dignity from father to son. The Sept was jealous of its right to choose its chief; and he was only acknowledged as such, even after election, when he was conducted solemnly, in a full convention of the Tribesmen, to the traditional site on the hill-side, and seated on the sacred stone on which his predecessors had been installed. Christianity in due time gave additional solemnity and sacredness to these installations. But they retained the same forms, substantially, so long as it was possible to appoint a chief recognized by any Sept in Ireland, so long, at least, as a single Sept was left entire and without being broken into fragments, and scattered throughout the land.

Only when thus installed on the sacred stone, and proclaimed by his tribesmen, could King or Chief call himself The O'Neill, or The O'Donnell, or The MacCarthy More, The O'Brien, The MacMurrogh, or The O'Connor. These revered names of the common ancestor, or benefactor, of the national hero, defender, or conqueror, was the magic title which appealed to the respect and loyalty of the Celtic tribesmen. The titles equivalent to King were not used by the Irish until a late period, and even when used, the word *righ,* or *ard-righ,* had not the magic power of the simple title of "The O'Neill" or "The O'Connor," &c.

Far stronger was the claim which, within each particular Sept, the chief had upon his clansmen or members of the Sept. This, no matter how numerous and dominant, was in the eyes of all who bore the tribal name, one family descended from one well known ancestor, whose representative the chief was. The homage and obedience paid him were a mixture of brotherly love and filial devotion. The Highland Clans of Scotland long preserved a similar organization; and Walter Scott has faithfully described the sentiments entertained by the clansmen toward their chief. In Ireland, unhappily, not a vestige has been left subsisting of these patriarchal organisms out of which Nature intended that nations of brothers should grow, like forests out of the same genial soil, fostered by the same sunlight and warmth, watered by the same fertilizing showers, each tree protecting its neighbor from the storm, and all arching their arms together overhead to protect from the too ardent summer-sun and from the frosts of the winter the young undergrowth.

One peculiar custom, that of fosterage, with its inviolable bonds of affection between the child adopted and the members of its adopted family, grew out of the mingled reverence and love felt in the Irish Septs toward the person of the Chief and his immediate family.* However the sentiment which hallowed this bond in the beginning and made it stronger than death, may have been mixed up with the calculations of self-interest on one side or on both it was a beautiful and admirable custom. The Chief could always feel sure of the attachment of every member of the Sept, but his foster-parents and their children would at any moment lay down their lives for him. Of this we have many striking and most touching examples in Irish history,—even where the child given in fosterage belonged to the hostile Anglo-Norman race.

Christianity grafted on this same robust trunk of brotherly love between tribesmen the custom of gossipred, that is the spiritual affinity arising between God-father, God-mother and the child held by them over the baptismal font to receive the second birth. The mystic bond of spiritual parentage thus contracted by the Sponsors toward the baptized infant, extended in a relative sense toward the child's parents. Indeed gossipred became a powerful link of friendship between families; and to make its influence wider, noble or wealthy families often had for each child several sponsors of both sexes, thus binding to themselves and to the fortunes of the child as many powerful persons as they could. And, to the conscientious Christian, this tie was no less sacred and inviolable than that formed by fosterage.

"The Irish custom of fosterage,"—says Mr. Prendergast,—"was in the nature of wardship; but the object being to make the young chief the beloved of his followers, he was brought up in the bosom of the family of his foster-parents. . . . Nursed up in a sense of his own importance, he became the proud and spirited head of the clan, their pride and their joy, and bound to his foster-family and they to him by ties of affection stronger than those of blood." *

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* In his novel of "The Fair Maid of Perth," Scott has left a memorable example of this devotion. The foster-father and his numerous sons perish to the last man to protect the life of their cowardly chief.

The earliest English writers on Ireland speak in terms of great praise of the strength of body and beauty of limb conspicuous among the Celts of their time. Nor was there, in this respect, any difference between the sons and daughters of the tribesman, whatever his rank and occupation, and the children of the highest Chief. Besides the fact of a common descent, the nurture and life of the children of all classes, were much the same. In infancy the limbs of the babe were not subjected to the tight bandaging so customary even in the most civilized lands. Nature, with the tender care and watchfulness of the mother, was allowed to mould, develop, and invigorate freely the limbs of childhood. Living for the most part in the open air, caring little for the changes of the weather, giving unrestrained scope to the natural passion of youth for all kinds of healthful exercises, and living on a diet simple, abundant, and nutritious, the ancient Irish grew up beautiful in features, fair and strong of limb, capable of every feat of strength and agility. Their powers of endurance even in the time of the Nuncio Rinciccini (1645), were a subject of admiration to this dignitary and his Italian Chancellor.

Athletic sports among them, as among the Greeks, a kindred race, were in the greatest honor. To this day the Irish race all over the world feel especial pride in keeping up such of these sports as were the delight of their forefathers. The great city of New York has her *Clan-na-Gael,* with their yearly athletic festivals, contests, and prizes. Ireland, too, awakening from the lethargy and discouragement begotten of the disappointment of so many fond hopes, and the prostration caused by seemingly endless suffering, is at this moment reviving the much-loved national pastimes of other generations. Tipperary, famed in all past history for her stalwart sons, is taking the lead. She is only keeping up her own traditions.

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* "Cromwellian Conquest," p. 20, 21.

"There is a very ancient custom here (county of Tipperary)," says Arthur Young, writing more than a hundred years ago,—"for a number of country neighbors among the poor people to fix upon some young woman that ought, as they think, to be married. They also agree upon a young fellow as a proper husband for her. This determined, they send to the fair one's cabin, to inform her that on the Sunday following she is to be horsed, that is, carried in triumph on men's backs. She must then provide whiskey and cider for a treat, as all will pay her a visit, after Mass, for a hurling match. As soon as she is horsed, the hurling begins, on which the young fellow appointed for her husband has the eyes of all the company fixed on him : if he comes off conqueror, he is certainly married to the girl; but if another is victor, he as certainly loses her, for she is the prize of the victor." *

It is a wonder that, a century ago, and when the Penal Laws were just beginning to relax somewhat of their intolerable rigor, our "poor people" (for were they not all ground down to a common level of poverty?) found heart to practise this ancient game of hurling. Even Arthur Young, fair-minded though he was, "little knew the hearts full of the noblest fire that beat under the poorest rags in Ireland, nor the unconquerable mind of the inhabitants of those frail dwellings of wattle covered with collops or long stripes of turf. Here, however, after 500 years of conquest, dwelt an unsubdued people, impatient of English laws, much more of suppression and servitude." †

The hurling-match, the carrying the bride in triumph, the contest, and the bestowal of the fair prize on the victor,—all this is but an echo of the far-off centuries, when two neighboring Septs were wont to assemble to contest the prize in Athletics; and when the noble maiden, who had been chosen queen of the feast, bestowed her hand, as a prize, on the victor. Our Celtic forefathers only live

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* "A Tour in Ireland in the years 1776, 1777, 1778," vol. ii., p. 250.

† "The Cromwellian Conquest," p. 330.

in the Irish peasantry of our day. Noble, gallowglass, and Creaght, under the crushing level of British bondage, have been ground down to this equality. But the souls of the fathers seem to pass into the sons, with the faithful and undying memories of the past.

Goldsmith, who saw what Arthur Young saw, and who, as an Irishman, mourned over the desolation of his native land, thought, sadly, that tyranny at home and wholesale emigration would all too soon put an end to

> These healthful sports that graced the happy scene,
> Lived in each look, and brightened all the green,
> These, far-departing, seek a kinder shore,
> And rural mirth and manners are no more.

Thank God, "the unconquerable mind" still remains, at home and abroad!

It would be equally interesting and instructive to complete,—from the very imperfect description given us by the biographers of St. Patrick of the great festival at Tara about Eastertide,—the picture of this national assemblage: kings, princes, chiefs, with the élite of the various Septs, and the Druids, Bards, Brehons, and Shannahs, all arrayed in their official robes, with the prescribed colors,—warriors and civilians, every order well represented. We should have the scene in the Royal Hall at Tara, and the scene outside. The multitude outside awaiting in darkness the first kindling and flashing forth of the King's Fire from the hill-top, and the people far and wide expecting the signal to illuminate in one instant the entire Island. And then, all of a sudden, the appearance of the Paschal Fire lit by St. Patrick, because it is Holy Saturday, the eve of the Resurrection, when the Light of the World burst from the Sepulchre, and the earth shook to its centre, conscious of the victory over Death and Sin.

Then there is a terrible commotion in Tara,—King Leogaire rushing with his war-chariots to avenge the insult offered to him by the strangers; and the struggle which followed between the two Religions thus suddenly brought into open conflict in presence of the Chiefs and representatives of the whole nation.

It is an historical scene worthy the pen of some great scholar, and the brush of some great painter.

There is another assemblage,—that in which the nation, now converted to Christianity, met to adopt the SENCHUS MOR, the great Celtic Code of our forefathers, put in harmony with the teaching and prescriptions of the Gospel. We have the Book, like the Ark of the Ancient Alliance between Pagan Wisdom and Revealed Truth. It is a monument that speaks eloquently for the civilization of these distant ages. But who will describe the memorable day,—when the chosen men of all the Families and Septs in Ireland met together to accept the Book thus prepared, and to pledge themselves to obey its injunctions?

Had the ancient Druidical or Mithraic ritual of the Celts lent its consecration to such a solemnity as this, we know what blood might have stained the altar and stamped the Book with its awful sanction. But there stood Patrick, the Pontiff of a purer religion and a worship more worthy of the God to whom man liveth and dieth. The Sacrifice which he offered up on that day, to invoke the divine blessing on the People and its Rulers, on the Law and the Nation, reminded all present of the Victim of Calvary, who is the End and the Sanction of all laws human and divine.

As the Apostle of Ireland, robed in the sacred vestments of his office, stood on that Altar, surrounded by his troops of bishops, priests, and inferior ministers, while kings, princes, warriors, and the adoring multitudes knelt or stood reverent, far and near, satisfied to see and follow the movements of their High Priest and Parent,—it must have reminded these ardent students of the Scriptures of Moses at the foot of Mount Nebo, closing his mission of teaching and liberation, by giving solemnly to his people the Book of the Law.

Who will fill up from authentic history the details of the picture faintly outlined here?

The ancient Irish in these days of national independence, of unlimited plenty in a land sparsely inhabited and teeming with all the fruits of natural fertility and assiduous culture, of fervent religious faith and domestic purity and happiness, gave themselves up to the enjoyment of all that is most lawful and self-improving in the social affections. They were warm-hearted and ardent by nature; and where religion widened, deepened, and hallowed for them the legitimate channels for all these strong affections, such a people in such conditions must have advanced rapidly in true civilization,—that which rests on the culture of the heart and the elevation of the moral sentiments.

In these patriarchal families, where the father's authority was absolute, the law of primogeniture had no existence. It did not regulate the tenure or transmission of power in the Sept or in the State; it had nothing to do with the transmission or tenure of property in the family. Whatever right, in the course of time and in return for special services, a family might have acquired to certain lands, these, as well as the movable property in herds and flocks, &c., were to be equally divided among all the sons of the deceased according to the law of *gavelkind*. This law was the common law both in England and in Ireland, while the two countries were under Celtic rule. It moreover enacted that when a brother died childless, his land was to be equally divided among his brothers.

Another feature, in connection with the transmission of property and political power, was the custom of *Tanistry*. As the free election of the members of the Sept determined who should hold the chieftaincy, so to prevent high office and the power it conferred from becoming an heirloom, and thereby a danger to the common freedom, the electors chose generally at one and the same time both the Chief and his Tanist, or successor. The Tanist was selected among the members of the Chief's own family. The tribesmen were supposed to choose the man most fitted in every way. If the son of the Chief, like Saul in Israel, surpassed all the others in merit, then the suffrages would be likely to fall on him. If he was not of such surpassing merit, the tribesmen looked for a proper person among the other relatives.

Each Sept had also its own Druid, Bard, and Brehon, who were elected from among the most distinguished of their respective classes. To each of these was allotted a portion of the tribal lands for their maintenance during their tenure of office. The Brehon, besides, for his services in long and weighty law suits, was entitled to a fixed fee, always paid in cows, which were the representative of all commercial values.

One peculiarity in the transmission and division of landed property deserves special mention here, if for no other purpose, for that, at least, of showing that such a custom must have survived as a relic of the primeval state of society when the Creator of land and sea had to use commands and threats to force men, few in number then, to go forth and possess the beautiful earth and people it.

This exceptional mode of holding and transmitting land is known as the *Geilfine* system. "The original acquirer of the land, as each of his sons grew up and was ready to leave the home, gave him his share in the paternal acres, and planted him out to maintain a household of his own. This was done successively to the number of four sons, if he had as many; the fifth and youngest remained with his father and inherited the original home. The father and the four sons formed a family group of five households, which went by the name of the *Geilfine*,* or 'right hand group,' from the five fingers on the right hand (*gilla*). The youngest son in his turn, when he had succeeded to the residue of the property, and his sons grew up, planted them out one by one on portions of the remainder of the family land. He and his four sons then became the *Geilfine*, and his brothers' four households were in this way pushed further off from the household of the *stirps*, and were known as the *Deirbhfine*, or 'particular group.' The youngest and the fifth son of the new Geilfine chief in his turn repeated the process, forming for himself and his sons a fresh *Geilfine* on his own account. The last *Geilfine* then became the *Deirbhfine* in its turn; and the old *Deirbhfine* became the *Iarfine* or 'after group.' Again the process was repeated, and yet another and a newer *Geilfine* was formed; each group, as before, took the place of the group more remotely related, and the *Iarfine* became the *Indfine* or 'end group.' Here the process ceased, and no further sub-division was made. Each group acquired a separate instead of an undivided share in the paternal acres, and became a fresh *stirps,* retaining the tract allotted to it, and repeating the plotting out of its own share its own way. Each family worked out on this plan consisted of seventeen households—four in each of the four groups, plus the original home. Where a group became extinct, the lands were taken *per stirpes* by the other groups of the family. On failure of a male representative the land reverted to the tribe, though in later days, when the tribe-system was becoming weakened, the daughters were in such cases permitted to inherit." *

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* Perhaps from *geil* or *geal*, 'white' or 'fair,' and *fine*, 'a family.'

So much for the great features of social legislation among the ancient Celts of Ireland, and the tenure and disposition of land. To judge of the degree of civilization which prevailed in the commerce of private life, we have to look more closely both at the criminal and the civil codes. The crime of treason is unknown in this Celtic legislation. As there was no State to challenge the fealty of Irishmen, so there was no treason against it. Every infraction of the law, whether it was a crime committed against the person, or against property, or against public order, was punished by a fine (*eric*), to be paid in a stated number of cows. If the offender did not possess a sufficient number, then the family to which he belonged made up the deficiency. The fine was only levied on the entire Sept, when both the offender and his family were too poor to satisfy the demands of justice.

In cases of wilful murder, the family who had lost a member claimed an *eric* as compensation from the murderer; and, in case he could not afford the amount, he lost his civil rights, and the blood-fine was levied on his family,—the share of the homicide in the lands of the Sept going to satisfy or help satisfy the claim against him.

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* C. G. Walpole, "A Short Hist. of the Kingdom of Ireland," pp. 8–10

In all doubts and contestations which arose the Brehon decided, and his decision was final.

Crimes against every precept in the Decalogue were punished in the same way. Wrongs such as a breach of contract, a trespass, fraud, slander, wilful failure in paying one's debts, or in fulfilling one's bond, were visited with an *eric*.

Thus the spirit of this ancient Celtic legislation was anything but a bloody one, while being strict and rigorous in exacting the legal compensation for guilt. The whole community was made to have a direct and real interest in preventing the transgression of the law, as well as in punishing the transgressor. Is it not toward that spirit, one at bottom of brotherly love, that our most enlightened modern jurists would wish to bring back our criminal legislation?

We have been able to form an estimate of the property-basis on which the ancient Celtic family reposed: it will be not a little instructive to examine how the Brehon Law regulated the most sacred domestic relations. Apparently, judging from what has been said on the transmission of property, women only held a secondary place in the household. When the wife, however, brought to her husband property of her own proportionate to his, she was, before the law, and in all respects, esteemed and called 'the wife of equal dignity.' There was, besides, nothing in the customs or life of these Celtic populations, favoring the enslavement of woman in any respect, or reducing her to the inferiority which characterized the condition of woman elsewhere.

When Christianity came to perfect all things among the Irish, the reverence for woman, founded on the filial love enjoined toward the Mother of Our Lord, the second Mother of all humanity, only served to make every mother's place in the family higher still and more sacred in the eyes of all.

We may conclude this brief survey of Celtic legislation by saying that the law-makers,—the tribesmen themselves,—were careful to protect by exact prescriptions not only the rights of private families and individuals, but the rights of the entire community. "The property and security of woods, the regulation of watercourses, but above all the property of bees, on which depended the principal beverage of the people, were guarded"—says Leland—"by a number of minute institutions, which breathe a spirit of equity and humanity. We are not to wonder that a people accustomed to the refinements found in their own laws, should be pronounced OF ALL OTHERS THE GREATEST LOVERS OF JUSTICE. This is the honorable testimony of Sir John Davies and Lord Coke. With shame we must confess that they were not taught this love of justice by the first English settlers." *

This would naturally lead us to examine a little more closely the character and virtues of the Irish People,—the people of that little known and much slandered Celtic race,—whom it was politic in the 12th century to represent as Savages, only fit to be outlawed and plundered, and whom, at the close of the 19th century, it is still the policy to coerce and to starve, in order to drive them from the land of their fathers, to which, though taken from them by their enemies, they still so fondly cling. But the gentle qualities, the generous virtues, the rich and progressive nature of the race, can only serve to aggravate the wrong done them by the spoiler and oppressor. It is no justification of my guilt, that my neighbor, whose house I have seized, whose lands I have got into my possession by sheer fraud and force, was a violent man, an ill-mannered or unrefined man, and that he managed his property ill.

Of intellectual culture in general, and of the learning which sprang from it, the ancient Irish entertained the highest esteem, and embodied their estimation of it in more than one of their laws. "So much was learning prized by the ancient Irish,"—says Count Murphy, "that learned men ranked next to kings and princes of the blood. This was marked by the number of colors in their garments. The kings and princes wore seven colors, historians and learned men six, nobles five, those who exercised hospitality four, officers three, soldiers two, and the mechanics or working-classes one." †

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* Hist. of Ireland, i., p. 35.

† "Ireland Political, Industrial, and Social," p. 238.

In the next chapter we shall see what marvelous fruits this admiration for the learned and this general love of intellectual culture produced in the nation, after it had embraced Christianity. Their practical knowledge of both the industrial and the fine arts, would also be an index to their advancement in learning and scholarship. But the requirements of physical life, and the enjoyments authorized by social intercourse, regulate everywhere the exercise of industry and the sale of its productions.

The great importance attached to archæological studies has led many Irishmen, some of them of noble rank, to devote their time as well as their fortune to illustrate the antiquities of their native land. A single afternoon spent in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, in Dublin, will convince the scholar that not a little has been achieved in this field of science. Alas! the whole face of the country is strewn with the ruins of noble edifices, reared to Religion and Learning most of them, and all torn down in hatred of the faith professed by the majority of Irishmen.

What proportion of these ruins point to Celtic times,—to those preceding the advent of Christianity, and to those erected before the Anglo-Norman invasion? These are questions to which the purpose of our argument will not permit us to give an answer. Works, already become classical, are to be found in all public libraries, and they alone can satisfy the curiosity of the student. Many prehistoric remains are found on the Islands all round the Irish coast. Others are scattered here and there on the mainland. The architectural relics of unquestioned Celtic origin, and of a well ascertained period, are few. But, such as they are, they afford evidence of no small skill in the art of construction.

What, however, the readers who are especially interested in our inquiry would wish to know, is the state of Architecture in Ireland in the age of St. Patrick. Certain it is that, in those days, there existed nothing like the walled towns, or the large cities, which sprung up at a later period. What the author of the "Cromwellian Conquest" says of England and Ireland in the 12th century, applies in a very great measure to the two countries, as they were in the year 432.

"Unlike England then covered with castles on the heights, where the French gentlemen secured themselves and their families against the hatred of the churls and villeins (as the English peasantry were called), the dwellings of the Irish chiefs were of wattle or clay. It is for robbers and foreigners to take to rocks and precipices for security; for native rulers there is no such fortress as justice and humanity.

"The Irish, like the wealthiest and highest of the present day, loved detached houses, surrounded by fields and woods. Towns and their walls they looked upon as tombs or sepulchres, where man's native vigor decays, as the fiercest animals lose their courage by being caged. They wore woolen garments much in the present fashion, and disdained to case themselves in iron, thinking it honorable to fight naked (*i.e.*, unprotected by armor), as it was called, with the mailed French of Normandy, and their Flemish and English followers, just as the Gauls fought naked with the well-armed soldiers of Rome."

It may, therefore, be said, that, generally speaking, the most sumptuous dwellings were built of wood. The surrounding forests, with their magnificent timber, furnished the best material in lavish abundance. And, so far back as we can go into the history of the Celtic Irish, we find them to be expert and intelligent craftsmen and builders. The best houses were what we Americans call frame houses; the frame of squared timber; the intervals filled in by lighter material. The Icelandic Sagas describe the construction, decorations, and furniture of the chief Norsemen. The Celts of Ireland were not inferior either in civilization or in mechanical skill to their northern neighbors.

As to the dwellings of the people in general, much would depend on individual taste, as well as on custom. The much milder climate of 1,400 and 2,000 years ago in Ireland, required but little comparative additional warmth in the winter-time. Even in our days the laboring classes in Ireland are astonishingly hardened against the rigors of that season. The houses made of wattles and clay are thus easily accounted for. The pastoral population, the great majority of the nation, followed their herds and flocks in their migrations from one pasturage to another. They built for themselves and their families temporary shelters with tall wattles, which they covered with long stripes of the green turf, and being warmly clad, and used to wet and cold, and having, besides, abundance of the most wholesome and nourishing diet,—this great component element of the ancient peasantry of Erin, lived a laborious, simple, innocent, and joyous life. They were free men, often, if not always, the owners of their own flocks and herds. No one oppressed them, and no man dared to despise them.

There were, nevertheless, villages in those primitive times. Each Sept had its own centre, where was the abode of the Chief, and where, with the introduction of Christianity, was the residence of the Bishop, and his cathedral church. Around these, other institutions soon arose. With the Church, the Monastery, and the School, Architecture came into being, and flourished. And with Christian Architecture all the Arts, born in the Sanctuary, were perfected in the Sanctuary, beautifying their home, and making it an image of the House of God on high. From the Church and the School the love of the Beautiful, like the love of the True and the Good, necessarily spread through the land, creating the edifices whose very ruins are fast perishing through the stolid indifference of the men to whom Protestantism or the sword of Cromwell gave their possession.

In the age of St. Patrick, therefore, Christian or ecclesiastical architecture was only in its rude beginning. Of the condition of civil architecture we can only guess.

In Ireland, among a primitive people enjoying in abundance all the means of supplying the table, all the materials for building their homes and making them comfortable, luxury was little likely to have many votaries. The laws regulating the color of the dress worn by the different classes in the community, point to an advanced stage of the textile arts. It would have been strange indeed, if a people coming originally from Western Asia, where the richest and finest fabrics were manufactured, and where both Phenicia and Persia vied with each other in inventing for them the richest dyes, should have forgotten their native cunning. Even had they lost, in their wanderings westward over Continental Europe, somewhat of their refinement and culture, the needs of the more northern climate of Ireland must have stimulated anew their invention. Then, later, the arrival of the Phenician navigators, and the settlement among the Irish of Phenician colonies, would have re-awakened, in a race of a highly æsthetic temperament, the taste for soft fabrics, graceful vesture, and the glorious colors that recalled the Asiatic home of their fathers. Foreigners, foreign artists particularly, are wont to contrast the inborn good taste of the peasant women of Ireland, in the art with which they fold their poor garments around them, and their instinctive sense of color, as compared with the English, whose sculptors never can learn to drape a figure, and whose women bedeck themselves with the colors the most dissonant. Art-critics have remarked in the celebrated "Book of Kells" a commingling of colors, and certain hues bearing a striking resemblance to the far-famed dyes of Tyre.

Be that as it may, the Irish were renowned for their fabrics of linen and wool. The former was worn in ample folds round the person, and these folds were held together on the shoulder or chest by the *fibulæ* of gold, silver, or other exquisitely wrought metals, which we still admire in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. The heavy cloth cloaks or mantles would require the enormous fibulæ, which have still survived the destruction of ages.

Many of these beautiful ornaments, like the torques or collars, armlets, bracelets, ear-rings, &c., are of pure gold, and strikingly akin to those recently discovered in the Tomb of Agamemnon, and in the ruins of ancient Troy. These remains of ancient Irish Art, contemporary, most probably, with Ilion it its palmy days, were not taken out of tomb or sepulchre. These were again and again rifled and desecrated by fanatical hatred or lust for gold. It is from the peat bog,—the refuge of our native population in their darkest days, —that most of those archaic treasures have been taken.

Of the love for Music and Song for which Ireland has ever been famous, much need not here be said. The Harp, which is still the acknowledged national emblem, recalls not only the passionate love of the people for poetry, song, and music, but the existence of national treasures in all these departments, which are the glorious fruit of native genius. Like the golden and bronze ornaments discovered by accident in morass or ploughed field, like the fragmentary remains of ancient architecture and literature, our ancient national poetry and music are only broken relics of a buried past. The Harp survived the first stages of English violence as an institution. Every Sept, so long as a single Sept remained in Erin, had its Bard and its Harpists, who fired the heart of the assembled Tribesmen on their solemn festivals. "The harp that had long been silent in Gaul, and was heard in Britain only in the mountains of Wales, was universally played in Ireland; and the gaiety of the airs, and the skill of the artists, astonished and delighted those accustomed to the slower airs of the Welsh." So speaks Mr. Prendergast. Elsewhere, quoting from another Irish digger among the ruins of the Celtic past, he says: "The English became as fond of the harp as the Irish. In the inventories of the household goods of the gentry confiscated at the Revolution of 1688, the ancient English families of the Pale are found possessed of *one Irish harpe*. . . . Ten years afterward it survived in Connaught, where the old Irish gentry are described as careful to have their children taught to speak Latin, write well, and play on the harp." Besides, if the national music, like everything Celtic or Irish, was proscribed and ruined by English bigotry, we cannot wonder that a general disuse of seven centuries, and a suppression of all the national usages with which the harp was connected, have only left it a memory, but a treasured memory of other days.

The Harp and the National Music, Irish Poetry and Song, like the old Celtic national sports, so innocent and so manly, in which our ancestors delighted on the great holidays that brought all the people together,—will only revive again when Ireland is allowed the same liberty accorded to Catholic Canada,—that of making her own laws, cultivating her own literature, and living through her own institutions.*

Canada, while the French Revolution with the successive social upheavals that have come after it has swept away the old order of things, was allowed to remain on the shores of the St. Lawrence, in peaceful, blissful enjoyment of native tongue, French Laws, and the Catholic religion. The little American colony, as it developed and grew, retained all the dear and precious elements of her own nationality. To that idea of a separate nationality the French Canadians still cling with a touching devotion.

Let Irishmen not lose heart. Even in the United States, even throughout the Provinces forming the Canadian Confederation, Irishmen still worship with unfailing love this ever-cherished ideal of Irish nationality figured by the Irish Harp. How vivid in the memory of him who writes this page, is still the recollection of St. Patrick's Day celebrated in dear old Quebec, "the walled city of the North." It is all present to his mind's eye yet: the various National Societies, English, Scotch, Irish, and Canadian, with their banners, marching in solemn procession to St. Patrick's Church, and headed by the bands of the English regiments in garrison, one of them the

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* The author in conversation with a high official of the Irish Government, some months before this was written, dwelt with real pleasure on the enlightened liberality with which England had treated French Canada after its conquest in 1759. The articles of Cession stipulated that the French Colony should be protected in the Institutions derived from France. Hence the French Canadians have ever maintained intact their Church organization, the Civil Laws derived from the mother country, and the French Language. England,—though certain Governors-General and certain Colonial Ministers showed a disposition to do away with these 'relics of a by-gone age,'—has always been faithful to her part of the compact. When the high official had listened to this history of Canadian civil and religious freedom: "If England had only done so to Ireland," he said, "what a different state of things we should have here!"

The cry of Canadian patriots has ever been: *Nos Institutions; notre Langue, and nos Lois.*

87th. Members of Parliament, Judges, the Bar, the Governor-General and Council, filling the seats of honor near the Sanctuary; the Irish Soldiers crowding the vast galleries with the red masses of their uniform; the golden Irish Harp on a ground of green flaming on the breasts of the men, hanging from a green ribbon round the neck of the preacher. And,—as all were waiting for the beginning of the Solemn Mass, the organ giving voice, softly, in tones of heart-melting sweetness and tenderness to some one of these national melodies, "The Exile of Erin," "The Coolleen," "The Harp of Tara"; and you could see every head bowed down, and tears on every cheek.

No! No! Irish Nationality is not dead. In the hearts of any other people it would be dead and buried out of sight long ago, after such destruction, desolation, desertion, and despair. But in the hearts of such a people as we shall show the Irish to be in the following chapters,—such a SACRED IDEAL can never die. It will survive all disappointments and disasters, as long as a single Irishman is left to wait and to hope for the dawn.

Hear how these Celtic generations of the past idealized their suffering and almost annihilated nation under the name of DARK ROSALEEN:

Woe and pain, pain and woe
Are my lot, night and noon,
To see your bright face clouded so,
Like to the mournful moon.
But yet—will I rear your throne
Again in golden sheen;
'Tis you shall reign, shall reign alone,
My Dark Rosaleen!
My own Rosaleen!
'Tis you shall reign, shall reign alone,
My Dark Rosaleen!

Over dews, over sands
Will I fly, for your weal:
Your delicate white hands
Shall girdle me with steel.
At home, in your emerald bowers,
From morning's dawn till e'en,

You'll pray for me, my flower of flowers,
My Dark Rosaleen!
My own Rosaleen!
You'll pray for me, my flower of flowers,
My Dark Rosaleen!

Oh! the Erne shall run red
With redundance of blood,
The earth shall rock beneath our tread,
And flames wrap hill and wood
And gun-peal, and slogan-cry,
Wake many a glen serene,
Ere you shall fade, ere you shall die
My Dark Rosaleen!
My own Rosaleen!
The Judgment Hour must first be nigh,
Ere you can fade, ere you can die,
My Dark Rosaleen.

II.

PROGRESS.

WHAT has already been said of the social condition of the Irish race when St. Patrick brought them, with the Gospel, the germs of a higher culture and civilization, must have enabled the reader to form a sufficiently correct opinion on the progress they had then made in all the arts of peace and war, in all the industries belonging to a civilized community.

They were mainly a pastoral people, subsisting on the butter, milk, and flesh of their herds, deriving their clothing from the wool of their flocks, and the flax so extensively cultivated. The growth of wheat and corn was a precious source of agricultural wealth, which all the Celtic Tribes had brought with them from the East. The climate of Ireland, far more genial 1,400 years ago, than it is at the present day, permitted the husbandman to look forward to plentiful harvests. So that it was indeed a land of abundance. Besides the produce of the land there were the teeming lakes and rivers, and the exhaustless treasures of the deep sea all around the coasts. The Irish, whose war-galleys searched the coasts of Britain, Gaul, and Spain, and whose adventurous spirit sought and discovered the northern continent of America, were not men to allow their own sea-fisheries to lie idle near their hand, like golden grain on the field perishing for lack of sickles.

And then as the 5th century closed over the scarcely opened grave of St. Patrick, and while the 6th opened on a people running swiftly forward toward the attainment of the elevated ideal civilization held forth by Christianity, the doctrine and morality of the new faith acted like an intoxicating wine upon these fervent generations of Irishmen. No heroic efforts, no sublime personal sacrifices, seemed impossible to men and women, who had drunk deeply of this divine cup. Then ceased the piratical expeditions abroad in quest of plunder and slaves; then disappeared from the length and breadth of the island the property of man in man. Then, impelled by that supernatural charity springing from the idea of the brotherhood of all men in Christ the Redeemer, the Son of God, and the first-born of the race to the possession of the eternal Kingdom,—Irishmen went forth to communicate to their fellow-men everywhere the treasure of this fraternity and its everlasting hopes. Then did Columba with his companions seek Iona, as a place fitted to plant a nursery of apostolic men; and from Iona, his disciples in their wicker hide-clad coracles sailed to the Arctic Circle and planted the Cross in Iceland, long before the Norsemen dreamed of seeking a refuge there. Then, too, from Iona the sacred fire passed to the neighboring shores of Albion, and spread among the rude and warlike Picts from sea to sea, and southward till Lindisfarne sprang up, the daughter of Iona, fairer and greater than her parent.

Then, too, inflamed by the examples of Columba and his sons, Columbanus, as if bearing the very soul as well as the name of the Patriarch of Iona, hastened to Gaul as to a battle-field on which Christ's forces were being defeated, and where reinforcements were sadly needed to uphold the Cross. The great mass of well-educated Christians even have read too rapidly, studied too superficially, the history of these dark ages, to know how utterly and inconceivably barbarous were the Frankish Kings in the days of Columbanus; and how seemingly hopeless a task it was to make them, their courtiers, their feudal nobles, and their armies of retainers,—like flocks of ravenous vultures descended on the fairest regions of Western Europe,—practice any one of the gentle virtues recommended by Christ. Yet the Irish Apostle succeeded in establishing in several places among these ever-warring Frankish Kingdoms monasteries and monastic schools, which became the central springs of the intellectual and moral life. The prevailing spirit of evil drove the old man and his disciples into the wilds of Northern Germany. There, too, they scattered broadcast the seeds of the higher life. St. Gall remained behind on the shores of Lake Constance, when Columbanus was forced to fly into Italy, and to find a refuge amid the summits of the Ligurian Alps. There he planted a monastery, around which soon sprang up a city, and which, in course of time, became one of the great schools of Southern Europe.

But these missionary enterprises, from which Christian Europe in her darkest days derived immortal benefit, were only the overflowing of that supernatural piety and learning which could not be contained within the narrow limits of a single island.

But, just as we love to trace to their source the great rivers which fertilize the earth, and are the great channels of intercourse between the peoples of each continent, so let us go back a moment to the well-springs in Ireland of that extraordinary learning and apostolic spirit.

We have seen what a magnificent provision the Brehon Laws made for the public exercise of hospitality. In very truth, if we consider what was happening all over the Island through the two centuries immediately following the death of St. Patrick, we might be justified in saying that the framers of the Senchus Mor were inspired in some at least of their legislative provisions.

The generous hospitality prescribed by law was conspicuously shown during the memorable period when the monastery-schools of Ireland were frequented not only by crowds of native students, but by a multitude of scholars from the neighboring islands and the Continent. A contemporary, St. Bede, revered in England as the "Venerable Bede," says of this custom: "The Irish received with kindness strangers who came from every country, at these periods, to be instructed among them, and gratuitously supplied them with food, books, and teachers."

Another Englishman, who wrote in 1607, for the purpose of decrying the Irish race and their religion, cannot help bearing this testimony: "The Saxons of that age (the 9th century) flocked thither, as to the great mart of learning; and this is the reason why we find it so often said in our writers of Lives of the Saints, *such a one was sent over to Ireland to be educated;* and hence the reason also of this passage in the Life of Sulgenus, who flourished 700 years ago:

'Exemplo patrum, commotus amore legendi,
Ibat ad Hibernos, sophia mirabile claros.

Athirst of knowledge, he the well-known road
Towards Erin by our fathers trod, pursued,
And found supernal wisdom in her lov'd abode.'"

The most illustrious orators and writers of our day, men of opposite creeds and political parties, like Guizot and Montalembert, have drawn a truthful and most attractive picture of Ireland, when her Saints and her Schools, her swarming monasteries and apostolic missionaries, caused Europe to call her *Insula Sanctorum and Doctorum*. The records of these universities of all learning and piety, of these nurseries of Christian education, when Christendom was as yet in the cradle,—have perished, alas! with the monasteries where they were written. Monks, monasteries, Masters and Missionaries had made Ireland the wonder of the world and the resort of all who thirsted for learning and the true law of life: the Enemy of all human progress came in an evil hour, and all these well-springs of human science and heavenly wisdom were filled up, choked, and obliterated by the ruins heaped upon them. Yet, from the fragments which time and fanaticism have spared, we can glean enough of detail to fill up the picture sketched in "The Monks of the West."

Scarcely had the glorious career of the Apostle of Ireland come to its close together with that great Fifth Century, so fertile in illustrious Christian men, when his beloved Island was thickly dotted all over with these famous monastic schools, whose example and influence St. Leander, the Apostle of the Visigoths, set about emulating in Seville, about the year 570. The study of the Scriptures opened up to the bright and active Irish intellect a new and boundless spiritual world. The positive knowledge afforded by Revelation, afforded inquirers after truth a large, high, and firm footing from which they could direct their investigations into the visible and invisible worlds, —each glorious horizon illuminated by Faith opening out into still vaster horizons beyond. Ireland, who had already her universally honored colleges of Druids, Bards, and Brehons (or Judges), and who had evidently always favored the pursuit of learning as well as its professors, saw all at once,—as did Augustine at the feet of Ambrose in the preceding century,—the boundaries of all familiar knowledge pushed back by the light of Christian Truth. This can explain the avidity with which Princes, Bards, Brehons, and people flocked to St. Patrick and his companions, and hung upon their lips, while they exposed the doctrines and unfolded the history of the Old and New Testaments. It was a part of Patrick's system of ecclesiastical administration to multiply churches and missionary centres. He and his disciples cared but little for personal ease or physical comfort. The church or chapel might be, and was in most instances, constructed of the rudest material. But beneath its lowly roof was the Altar of the New Law and the Ark within which the Awful Presence was ever abiding. Near it was the Well, blessed by the Apostle and affording water for Baptism, and for those ablutions typical of the cleansing and sanctifying operations of sacramental grace. The hut of wattles in which the Pastor and Teacher took his brief repose, was the first Christian School. Presently, it could no longer contain the number of scholars who came to listen and to learn. They became a multitude covering field and hillside: the master had to instruct them, as Christ was wont, from some gentle elevation from which he could be seen and heard. One day's teaching did not satisfy this multitude, who hungered for the bread of life eternal, and in whom the first draughts of divine knowledge only kindled a thirst they were fain to satisfy. Rude temporary abodes, after the model of the primitive Irish church and pastoral residence, sprung up all around. Men who had come to learn and had found out the better way, would not depart from those who had been for them the guides to Salvation: they had come to learn, and they now remained to pray, to live, to labor with their masters.

So grew these early Irish schools, these lowly but fervent monasteries of both sexes. For the women would not be outrun in the race of learning, holiness, and apostolic zeal. I am writing this almost within sight of the Round Tower of Kildare—of the spot where Bridget built herself the oaken church and cells, and lighted the fire of Christian sanctity, learning, and hospitality which burned so brightly for more than a thousand years.

Ireland had become one vast seminary in which all classes and sexes vied with each other in cultivating both sacred and profane science. For,—and the civilized world must not be allowed to forget it,—these priests and monks of the early ages kindled the torch of secular knowledge and set it on high near the sanctuary where flamed night and day the lamp which burned before the Holy of Holies. The happiness begotten of the possession of this twofold treasure was too great to be shut up within the home or the heart of the unselfish Irishman. He must go abroad to carry the light to other lands, and to enkindle there in men's souls the sacred thirst which still consumed his own. And the men of the neighboring Britain, of Gaul and Germany and Northern Spain, are impelled by a divine instinct to cross the seas and to seek in the land of Columkille, Columbanus, and Fridian, the knowledge and sanctity which had made of these apostolic men shining lights amid the universal gloom.

It was inevitable, it was natural, considering the character of the Irish people in these remote times, and the existing laws and institutions, that the scholars who flocked to the Universities of Ireland, should be welcomed heartily and made sharers of the hospitality so bountifully provided for the stranger, the wayfarer. There is no evidence that the great Schools of Cork and Lismore and Armagh, could boast of structures as substantial and splendid as medieval Oxford or Cambridge. The stranger-students shared with their Irish schoolfellows lodging and fare. What the great Teachers and the people of the neighborhood had to give, that they gave with a hearty good will. It was the Water of Life, the sublime doctrines of Revelation together with what then constituted human science,—that the eager multitudes had come to seek: and as they stooped to drink of the gushing spring, what cared they if the cup they put to their lips was of gold or of wood? They drank and drank only to find their thirst increasing ever, and the blessed waters even more delightful to the taste.

To this golden age of intellectual progress in Ireland succeeded ages of Barbarian invasion and misrule, when churches and schools, monasteries and monks, the devoted Masters and their grateful pupils were involved in one fearful tornado of fire and blood. All through the domination of Dane and Norseman, of Norman and Anglo-Saxon; when Elizabeth's hordes swept over the land like flame through a forest, and the devastation was perfected by Cromwell and the soldiers of Third William,—the Irish mind was not turned away from the pursuit of knowledge, or the hospitality of Irish homes denied to the wandering "Poor Scholar," who traversed the land in search of teachers. It is only one feature of that long Period of Terror, that the mass of the Irish people could not be taught by men of their own faith either the doctrines of their baptismal creed or the elements of secular knowledge. Catholic education was a treasure for the giving and getting of which men imperilled their fortunes, their liberty, and their lives.

There are few men in Ireland of between sixty and seventy years of age, who may not recall the Poor Scholars so kindly received, before the rise of the National Schools, into every house where the poor Catholics could pay for a master to teach the children of the neighborhood. "In Ireland it is a custom immemorially established for those petty schoolmasters who teach in chapels, or temporary huts, freely to instruct such poor boys as come from remote places, and are unable to pay. The poor scholar, while he remains at the school, goes home, night and night about, with his schoolfellows, whose parents that can afford it occasionally supply him with a few old clothes, as well as food and lodging. This appears to be a faint emanation of the ancient custom in Ireland, so celebrated by historians, of supplying, at the national expense, all foreign students with meat, drink, clothes, lodging, books, &c." *

Hospitality so exercised by a whole people and toward all strangers and wayfarers, bespeaks the existence of a high degree of civilization,—of such, at least, as supposes great moral culture and refinement, whatever may be the state of the mechanical and industrial arts. This refinement, based, as it is in the Brehon Laws, upon the supernatural motives furnished by Sacred History in the Old and New Testaments, is further displayed in the extraordinary and unique spectacle afforded by these early Irish Universities, where the multitudes of scholars are supported at the public expense.

On this peaceful home of Christian Civilization fell the scourge of a Norse invasion. The forests that covered the Island, while making it difficult for the natives to unite for defensive operations, allowed them a safe retreat from the sword of the invaders. But the deep estuaries along the coast, and the rivers navigable to the light craft of the sea-rovers, opened up access to the interior. It was near those estuaries and along those watercourses that Christianity had planted her monasteries. They were utterly destroyed.

The Anglo-Normans who came with Strongbow to Ireland, found churches, monasteries, and schools, rising and re-flourishing slowly from the ruin and chaos wrought by the Danes and Norsemen. But the religious establishments then struggling into existence, were only like fair shoots timidly rising above the blackened earth, where once the lordly forest-trees had stood in close array like an army, ere the hand of the destroyer had unchained against them the devouring flames.

I have spoken of Kildare. Let me glance at its history as illustrating the fate which befell one of the most glorious creations of Christian piety in Ireland. Its vicissitudes are those of every other great centre of spiritual life and learning in Ireland, resuming in itself the story of Christian civilization therein.

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* Dr. R. R. Madden, "Hist. of Irish Periodical Literature," vol. ii., p. 153, *note*.

While the Holy Abbess busied herself chiefly in promoting and spreading among her own sex throughout Ireland the practice of spiritual perfection, of Christian hospitality, and care of the poor, she was assisted and directed in all her labors by St. Conlaeth, the first Bishop of Kildare. Their lives and names are inseparably connected in church history, as well as in the veneration of Catholic Ireland; for theirs was one common life-work, to make of their people true children of God.

That the collection of cells in which Bridget and her nuns lived, was of the simplest construction, is a thing well known; and of the same simple if not rude material and form was the church in which not only the Religious but the surrounding lay community worshiped. As it always happens in the early missionary stage in all countries,—the first care was to provide sufficient accommodation for the faithful: architectural beauty was of very secondary consideration. Still there soon took place a great change in the outward appearance of things.

St. Conlaeth went to Rome ere his tragic death in 519, bringing back with him, among other things, precious vestments for the celebration of the divine liturgy. These were given over to Bridget; who, probably in a season of great distress, "gave to the poor the beautiful vestments brought from over the sea by Bishop Conlaeth, which he was wont to use at the oblation of the Sacred Mysteries of the Altar, in the festivals of our Lord and the Vigils of the Apostles." *

We must not forget, that one of St. Patrick's contemporaries in Italy, St. Paulinus of Nola, gave the sacred vessels off the Altar to redeem from captivity some members of his flock. The Holy Abbess thought, in like manner, that nothing was too precious or too holy to be employed in relieving the pressing needs of God's people.

Doubtless Conlaeth and such of his fellow-laborers as went to Rome, brought back with them not only artistic treasures which

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* Colgan, *Trias Thaum.*, p. 522.

served as models for the quick imitative genius of the Irish, but the forms of Roman Architecture, painting, sculpture, &c. Some of the earliest specimens of the Christian Jeweler and Silversmith's art were 'the shrine of gold and silver' in which were placed the relics of the holy bishop himself, in 799. Moreover, he is designated by the early chroniclers as the "Brazier," or worker in brass of St. Bridget. One of his cares, therefore, was to prepare for the House of God vessels and ornaments befitting the Sacred Liturgy. And so ecclesiastical art flourished from the beginning.

Early in the 9th century,—soon after this translation of the relics of St. Conlaeth,—a contemporary Irish writer composed a Life of St. Bridget, which is still extant. In it he describes the interior of the cathedral church of Kildare, which was still not only the monastery-church of the place, but the only church devoted to public worship there. The biographer describes a miracle which took place while they were 'repairing' or restoring the sacred edifice. Thus before the 9th century a first transformation had taken place in the structure. The high altar was richly decorated; on the right were deposited the remains of St. Conlaeth, on the left those of St. Bridget, both "in monuments adorned with various ornaments in gold and silver, in which were set gems and precious stones; while above the shrines hung crowns of gold and silver." It is evident from the context that the ground plan of the church was cruciform, as it is at the present day, the Nuns having a separate portion, the clergy another for vesting and reciting the divine office, the laymen and women occupying distinct places in the main aisle, and all having a view of the Altar during the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice. The walls were of a 'threatening' height, embellished with mural paintings; "the greater house," corresponding probably with the existing central dome, "having within three places of prayer, spacious and separated by wooden partitions." One of these, "covered with paintings over which were linen hangings, shut off the eastern wing of the church, extending from wall to wall."

In this eastern portion were celebrated the Divine Mysteries. A door on the right side admitted to the sanctuary the Bishop and his regular attendants, together with all who are qualified to take part in the sacred functions. Through a door on the opposite side the Abbess and her Nuns, with the 'widows among the faithful,' approached the communion-table. The western wing was partitioned off in the same way. Two doors corresponding to those in the eastern division, admitted the priests and the men of the congregation, and the Nuns and women, respectively. The door-way which gave admittance to the priests and persons of the male sex, was the principal door: it was distinguished by a higher degree of ornament. Several lofty windows lighted the entire edifice. "And thus,"—concludes the description,—"in one very great temple, a multitude of the faithful, in different order, rank, sex, and situation, worship with one mind the Almighty Lord." *

Before the restoration mentioned in this Life by Cogitosus, the church (and, in all likelihood, the monastery) had been twice destroyed by the flames (in 770 and in 774). A community of monks had, during this early period, been established among the oak-groves of Kildare; their services, both in the work of education, and in keeping up the beautiful custom of perpetual prayer and praise, not being subject to the distractions and interruptions to which the secular clergy in their ministrations are constantly liable. In 694 died, murdered by some person not mentioned in existing records, Liochene the Wise, Abbot of Kildare. Keating relates, in speaking of one of Liochene's successors in 707, that King Congal Kennmagar persecuted the church in those days, and condemned to the flames both the regular and secular clergy of Kildare. Were the conflagrations of 770 and 774 due to some such violent act of persecution? Certain it is that a great fire ravaged Kildare in 709.

In 830 came Ceallach Mac Brann, 'who slew many of the clergy in their own house.' In 835, while the Abbot of Armagh and his retinue were on a visit to Kildare, Fethlemid, at the head

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* See Petrie's "Round Towers," p. 198.

of an armed force, seized church and abbey and carried off the clergy.

These facts prove that some, at least, of the more powerful chieftains were but little influenced by respect for religion and its ministers. And thus we are prepared for the coming, in 836, of a Danish fleet of thirty ships, which ascended the Liffey, while another landed on the banks of the Boyne. The savage warriors they bore spread death and devastation on every side, plundering every church and abbey they happened upon, destroying Kildare with fire and sword, and carrying away the shrines of St. Bridget and St. Conlaeth. "From this period till the commencement of the 11th century, the annals of Kildare present only a continued series of Danish rapine and massacre; and scarcely had the ravages of these invaders ceased, when the town was plundered by the people of Hyfaslan. It was either wholly or in part destroyed by fire in 1038, 1040, 1071, 1088, and 1089; and, in 1135, the abbess of the monastery was forcibly taken from her cloister by Dermod Mac Murrough, King of Leinster, who compelled her to marry one of his followers,—on which occasion not less than 170 inhabitants of the town and inmates of the abbey were slaughtered." *

From the year 519, when the holy bishop of Kildare ended his labors with his life, till 1135, when the fatal name of Mac Murrough stands forth, like that of the Destroyer, amid the flames of Kildare, —we see through what chequered vicissitudes the great monastic centre founded by St. Bridget, pursued its career of blessed usefulness. We are not so much surprised at the fearful deeds of sacrilege and massacre, before which a Christian King of Leinster did not draw back, conscience-stricken, in the 12th century, as at kindred acts of murder, rapine, and sacrilege committed in the 8th and the 9th.

We ask ourselves, therefore, What then were the lasting fruits of civilization, gentleness of manners, respect for human life and property, security of law and order, and that peace and prosperity ever

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* Samuel Lewis, "Topographical Dict. of Ireland," v. ii., p. 84.

flowing from order and reverence for law,—which were gathered in Ireland from that glorious era of literary and moral culture, so praised by foreign historians and philosophers?

Let us, in order to give a satisfactory answer to this question, go back and find, in the pages of inspired history, a period among God's people offering a similar contrast of extraordinary progress in material civilization and religious fidelity, all through which are found red-handed deeds of sacrilege and lawlessness committed by Princes directly chosen of God Himself, and favored with the most extraordinary graces ever bestowed on temporal rulers.

Remember the reigns of Saul and Solomon. The former succeeded to Samuel, whose glorious administration of the Confederated Republics of Israel had not only freed the land from foreign domination, confirmed the faith, and encouraged the piety of his countrymen, but, by giving them peace, promoted the growth of every industry. Samuel's sanctity, wisdom, and experience, together with the assurance of Jehovah's special and ever-present assistance, were given to Saul, who was at one and the same time designated by the Divine Will, and chosen by popular election. These aids were to enable the new King to perfect the conquest of the national territory, to crush effectually and for ever the idolatrous enemies round about, and to give to the material and moral development of the Twelve Tribes an impulse onward and upward such as they had never received.

Who, that believes in the divinity of the Bible, but knows that such a people with such a Prophet, and such a Prince, should have been invincible in war, most blessed in peace, and irreproachable in morals? And yet, we read in the sacred narrative of that King's continued acts of public disobedience to the divine commands, of his ferocious persecution of his own son-in-law, the Saviour of the Kingdom, of four score and five priests massacred by the King's order, of an entire city—one of the Levitical Cities of Israel,—enveloped in that same sanguinary decree, "both men and women, children and nurslings, oxen, asses, and sheep" being mingled in one indiscriminate massacre!

Was there, then, no true religion, no substantial civilization, no respect for humanity, to be found in Israel in the days of Saul?

Who does not know of the wisdom bestowed upon the King-boy Solomon on his accession to the throne? Who does not know, as well, of the high degree of intellectual and moral culture to which David, his father, the "Sweet Singer of Israel," had brought his people? The Psalms sung in every household throughout the land, the splendid public worship instituted and ordered by this pious prince, are eloquent of a mighty progress made since the days of Samuel. All this culture, all this prosperity, all this political predominance Solomon carried to such a point, that his name remains to this day among the populations of the East, as that of a man endowed with wisdom and powers far above the reach of ordinary humanity.

And yet how low did Solomon not fall? With what crimes and immorality did he not darken the meridian of his glory, and disgrace in the eyes of the world the religion, the people, the Name of the True God?

We are not to judge hastily, that, because almost in the life-time of Columbanus, deeds of savage and sacrilegious violence were committed by some of the great ones of the land, therefore the work of St. Patrick and St. Bridget had come to naught. Unfortunately, the calamities of the Danish and Norman invasions have destroyed the records of that early period of our church history. But had not a single fragment of our annals survived, or a single monument remained to attest the Christian virtues of the people or their unabated ardor in the pursuit both of sanctity and of learning, the constancy shown by them as a nation, while under the Dane and the Norseman's savage rule, and while under Anglo-Norman domination, is more than sufficient to prove to the world that Irish practical faith and Irish culture were not the swift growth of the seed cast in shallow soil, which gave forth a fair promise, but never reached harvest-tide.

They were no such deceptive prospects of solid and lasting fruit which Columkille left behind when he sailed for Iona, or which

Columbanus beheld, as he turned him away from his native shores forever, or that Venerable Bede bears witness to, when he extols the schools which flourish all over Ireland, as the nurseries of the apostolic spirit and the learning of Western Europe, and lauds the boundless hospitality to strangers of a pastoral people without a single one of the great commercial or industrial resources even then abounding in Gaul and Italy and Spain.

From the year 493, till the year 836, when the Dane and his fleets appeared simultaneously in the Liffey and the Boyne, we can rest assured that Irishmen labored nobly and with no obscure success, to make of Ireland a nation worthy of taking a foremost seat in the great family of Christian nations.*

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* See Appendix A

III.

PROGRESS ARRESTED.

1. *The Danes.*

THE Danes and Norwegians, after having repeatedly ravaged the fairest and most populous districts of Ireland, resolved to make their conquest permanent. They seized, therefore, the most favorable position on the principal estuaries, erected fortresses there, invited their countrymen to join them, and formed prosperous settlements. Thus arose the cities of Dublin, Waterford, Wicklow, Cork, Limerick, and others. After a century and a half of conflict with the native Irish, the Danes embraced the Christian faith, and endeavored to form treaties of peace and amity with the Princes between whom the government of the Island was divided. But as the Danish chiefs, from first to last,—those of Dublin particularly,—assumed the title of King, this assumption, apart from their fanatical paganism, made conciliation impossible.

It is a melancholy reflection to any Irish student of the history of these times, that the political division of the country, and the lack of cohesion among the people and their leaders, should have made the invasion of Ireland so easy to any warlike adventurer, and enabled him to form settlements all along her seaboard, while at the same time preventing the settlers from enjoying lasting peace or security.

Even when, in 980, Malaghlin, King of Ireland, defeated the Danes with great slaughter at Taragh, and carried fire and sword to the very walls of Dublin, he stopped short in his victory, accepted a tribute from the Danish King, Reginald, and withdrew his forces,—while the defeated and despairing Dane went on a pilgrimage to Iona, to implore St. Columkille to secure himself and his followers in their possessions! Reginald died at Iona. It was the hour to strike for the national liberation. But no heroic voice aroused the people; no heroic hand was raised to smite the invaders.

Again, in the year 1000, a still more favorable opportunity offered. Brian Boroimhe captured Dublin itself. Patriotism and policy counseled the prompt expulsion of the Vikings from every inch of Irish soil,—from Dublin, their chief stronghold first, and then in succession from all their other settlements. It was the golden opportunity sent by Providence. The victorious Irish only made "concessions" and then disappeared, leaving the Danes free to fortify their positions everywhere. Then came the war of 1014, and the battle of Clontarf. The Danes were defeated; the Irish army won a dear and an incomplete victory. Dublin remained in the hands of the strangers; so did every one of their maritime settlements. No statesman, no soldier was found among the Irish allied hosts to avenge the death of the magnanimous old King, by uniting their forces and driving the panic-stricken Norsemen from the land once and for ever.

On the contrary, in 1038 we find the now converted Danes giving Dublin a Danish bishop, and building him the Cathedral of Christ Church. Their power waxes so strong that they send a large fleet to Wales, two years in succession, to aid one of their Welsh allies. Both expeditions proved disastrous, the Danes being driven back to Dublin by their enemies. And no Irish King either watched these events, or cared to profit by them to vindicate the independence of his native land, or to recover the integrity of the national territory!

In 1066 a still more favorable opportunity presented itself to achieve a result, which it is impossible to believe was not a cherished dream of the Irish heart. The Danes of Dublin were attacked by Godred Crovan, King of Man; the city was taken, Leinster was overrun by the conqueror, who, in his turn, assumed the title of King of Ireland, and bore it till his death.

Were there no patriot Bishops or Princes left in the land to call

upon the Irish to form an alliance with Dane against Manx or Manx against Dane, and thus crush one with the other? During the remainder of the century, Danish Dublin is permitted to make war on Danish Waterford and to ruin it utterly; then all the Danish colonies unite against Cork, and are defeated by the latter. But the Irish Kings do not appear on the scene to take advantage of these dissensions. And so ends the 11th century, a century illuminated, in the eyes of the Irish patriot, by the solitary splendors of the victory at Clontarf. And then dawned for us the dark and fateful Twelfth. How came it about that, in 1121, Turlogh O'Brien, King of Ireland, accepts from the hand of King Henry I. of England an archbishop of Dublin (Gregory) consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury? Had our Hierarchy so degenerated that they were utterly forgetful of the privileges and dignity of their national Church, allowing a foreign King to nominate and a foreign prelate to consecrate an archbishop for an Irish see, without resistance or remonstrance?

And then we find Dermod Mac Murrough, King of Leinster, ravaging the country around Dublin as he had ravaged and ruined Kildare, and blotting out from the city and its territory the last vestige of Danish power. We could have forgiven him all his deeds of blood and rapine, had he only appealed to Irish Princes, Prelates, Priests, and People, to unite in one mighty bond all the nation's vital forces, and make Ireland mistress of her own destinies. The civilization which had, since the days of Charlemagne, been struggling, all over Continental Europe, to a higher level, like grain sown in autumn growing timidly through the frosts of a late spring,—would have shed its blessings on Ireland. The Danish period in our Island had more than one resemblance to the Feudalism which had destroyed the first growth of Christian civilization on the Continent, and so long delayed and neutralized the creative action of the Church. The very evils of which St. Bernard complains in his Life of our St. Malachy, had their parallel in France, Germany, Northern Spain, and Italy. But these evils did not altogether stop the growth of the glorious seeds of education and morality, which the Church of Christ had never ceased to sow and cultivate in the minds and hearts of every nation.

If we take into consideration the disadvantages of Ireland's insular position, there is no reason to suppose that she was not ready to take her place,—a not obscure or inglorious one,—in the forward movement inaugurated in Christendom by the Crusades.

It is not denied that, during the three centuries and more of the partial occupation of the Island by the "Ostmen," their presence caused serious disorders in the entire social structure, in ecclesiastical discipline, intellectual and moral progress. "Wherever they came, they desecrated churches, burned monasteries, destroyed books, pictures, and sculptures; murdered priests, monks, and poets. To the ferocity of the wild beast they joined the persevering energy of the Teuton; their arms were better than those of the Irish, and perhaps they had more skill in handling them. Confusion and lamentation were soon in every part of the island. Men, after a while, seeing the continued success of these odious pagans, began to doubt of Providence and grow slack in faith. . . . The generosity toward the church of the converts of St. Patrick underwent a selfish but not unnatural reaction in their descendants." * Such is the judgment of Mr. Thomas Arnold. To his testimony let us add that of the great Irish scholar, Eugene O'Curry. "When foreign invasion and war had cooled down the fervid devotion of the native chiefs, and had distracted and broken up the long-established reciprocity of good offices between the Church and the State, as well as the central executive controlling power of the nation, the chief and the noble began to feel that the lands which they or their ancestors had offered to the church, might now, with little impropriety, be taken back, to be applied to their own purposes, quieting their conscience by the necessity of the case." †

There were other changes, however, of a far more scandalous

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* "Catholic Dictionary," art. *Irish Church.*

† O'Curry, "Materials of Ancient Irish History," 343.

nature, which arose out of the prolonged disturbance, the moral chaos created by the successive bands of Ostmen, who ravaged and held the entire Irish coasts, prevented all communication with Rome, the great centre of authority and enforcer of discipline, while they spread ruin and desolation throughout the interior of the island. The interior, indeed, they never succeeded in maintaining possession of; the wretched kinglings, who could not or would not combine to resist or drive out the Pagans, managed so to harass their bands, as to render impossible their retaining a foothold at any distance beyond the seaboard.

But, although the Brehon law continued to govern the nation, some of the worst effects of Continental Feudalism were not slow in making their appearance. Not only, as we have seen, did the great families make no scruple to take back the grants of land made to the Church in the first age of fervor succeeding the introduction of Christianity, but they endeavored, not without partial success at least, in thrusting their sons into the episcopal office, and in making this an heir-loom. We have in the archiepiscopal see of Armagh, at the close of the 11th and during wellnigh the first half of the 12th century, a scandal strikingly similar to that which had fallen on the Roman Church and See during the preceding centuries: powerful families making superhuman efforts to possess and transmit to their sons the office and influence of great central sees. In Ireland the Clan-law favored these usurpations.

St. Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh, who died in 1148, gave his friend, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, an account which sheds a vivid light on the condition of the Irish Church at that period. For two hundred years one of the noble families in the north had claimed and held the primatial chair as an heir-loom. During fifteen generations the sacred office of St. Patrick was usurped successively by the members of this family. Of these fifteen Archbishops only six were ever in holy orders. They delegated their jurisdiction to others, while enjoying the temporalities of the see. They were married laymen. St. Malachy, in 1125, was chosen by Celsus, the last of the fifteen, to be his successor. This was in derogation to the traditional claim of the usurping family; and was resisted by them. Murchadh, who was substituted perforce to Malachy, only died in 1133; and then alone was Malachy allowed to take peaceful possession.

This is only an instance of the grave disorders ever sure to follow on successive invasions and barbaric warfare and misrule. There can be no discipline without recognized and ever-present authority; but the insular position of the Irish Church, while the Northern Barbarians held the sea-ports and swept the coasts with their fleets, rendered all communication with the great central authority of Rome either impossible or exceedingly precarious. And so, there being no one to curb the ambition, pretensions, and covetousness of the great nobles, or to regulate the nomination to church dignities and benefices,—the world had its own way. Irish human nature, like human nature everywhere, needs the grace of God and the action of God's lawful representatives to keep it steadfastly on the high level of supernatural goodness and progress. Where these necessary aids and restraints are lacking, the most privileged nature, like the richest soil, deprived of the husbandman's watchful care, is overgrown with hurtful weeds.

That, in spite of these acknowledged disorders, both the ancient culture of the Irish race and the supernatural virtues Christianity had grafted on such goodly tree, had only degenerated somewhat from their former excellence, and not perished amid the inroads of a ferocious Paganism,—is a fact demonstrated not only by the facts recorded in the preceding Chapter, but by the era of trial which followed, beginning with the year 1169.

Before that fatal year, however, St. Malachy succeeded in reorganizing the Irish Hierarchy, and in effecting reforms which promised a new era of progress to the Church and the Nation. In 1152 was held the National Synod of Kells, Cardinal Paparo, the Pope's legate, presiding. The pallium was bestowed on the Archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, Tuam, and Cashel, distributing between them the thirty-four suffragan sees on the Island. The episcopal dignity was thus rescued from all subjection to any lay power; and from the tribal lands assigned to the parochial clergy it was ordained that tithes should be paid annually.

PROGRESS FURTHER ARRESTED.

2. *The Anglo-Normans.*

In 1152, while the Holy See through its legate and the powerful influence of Archbishop St. Malachy, was restoring discipline and order in the Irish Church, Turlough O'Connor, King of Connaught, was titular Monarch of Ireland. He died in 1156, and one of the Ulster family of O'Neill, Murtagh O'Loughlin O'Neill, succeeded him.

It will help the general reader to understand the causes of the national weakness in Ireland, to know that there had then sprung up four confederacies, or groups of allied Septs, nearly corresponding to the modern division into provinces. Each of these groups had an acknowledged overlord or King of their own: the O'Neills claiming the allegiance of the Septs of Ulster and Meath, the O'Connors that of Connaught, the O'Briens that of Munster, and the Mac Murroughs that of Leinster. The O'Neill's, again, claimed, as an hereditary right, the rank of Monarch of all Ireland. But this was disputed by the other overlords, ambition and might deciding in favor of the boldest. The Irish chieftains, during the last three or four centuries, had seen enough, or heard enough of the doings of Feudalism on the European Continent, to conceive the desire of perpetuating, each in his own family, both the absolute title to the rank he held, and to the land, on which all social greatness and stability reposed. These men began to consider both the country and the people as things belonging to themselves.

Just then, as if to awaken the Irish people from their lethargic acquiescence in these usurpations and encroachments, happened the invasion of the first Normans under Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke.

The first question which presents itself to the mind to ask is, "What brought to Ireland Pembroke and his Adventurers?" The answer to that must be, that just as the Northmen were brought in former times to France by LAND-HUNGER, and as the Danes, their cousins, were brought to Ireland by the same, so, in succession, the Normans, finding in their portion of France no more unappropriated lands to satisfy that hunger, crossed over and took England; and now here they are in Ireland.

There is no use in turning to the right or to the left to find a motive for their invasion of a Christian country, a peaceable and unoffending people. The true impelling force which drove Strongbow to the Irish shores, was the land-hunger. This was also the motive which impelled Henry II. to follow with a powerful armament after Strongbow.

They tell us, to be sure, that after the return of Cardinal Paparo from Ireland, the Holy See, anxious to urge forward in Ireland the religious reforms planned in the Synod of Kells, gave the Island over to the King of England. It would be, in the circumstances, which prompted misinformed Rome to adopt such a course, a grave warning against yielding in the present to similar influences.

But we do not believe in the fact of Pope Adrian's gift. LAND-HUNGER was at the bottom of it all.

We must, however, examine here the pretence of bringing back the Irish to a purer Christianity.

The Anglo-Normans came with Strongbow, and Miles de Cogan, and Henry II. It were foreign to our purpose to discuss here the internal dissensions which afforded a motive to this new invasion, or the very doubtful claims, even when founded on Pontifical Authority, which were alleged by Henry himself. They came; they possessed themselves of most of the Danish colonies, with strips of territory round about the towns and fortified positions they held. They came to conquer and to rule by the sword. No pretence was ever so hollow, or maintained by such unhallowed means, as that put forward by the invaders,—that they had come to reform a degenerate Christian people, to reclaim Ireland from the semi-paganism and barbarism into which it had lapsed.

The two races struggling thenceforward for mastery on Irish soil were Catholic, both of them, and both civilized; for the pretended superiority of the invaders consisted, like the superiority of the Danes, in being better equipped for war on sea and land, in being more advanced in the mechanical and industrial arts, and in being nearer, geographically, to Italy, whence all social, intellectual, and moral progress spread over the European continent, like life-giving light from the sun.

Unfortunately for the false plea set up by England, and the fallacies of which still maintain their hold on the greater portion of the English-speaking world,—impartial and incorruptible History is there to prove, that the English, in planting themselves in Ireland, made little or no effort to impart to the Irish the boon of that pretended higher civilization, and that their attempts to reform ecclesiastical abuses, indiscipline, or immorality, were just about as serious and as successful as the labors by them undertaken to reform and convert the Hindoos, the Burmese, or the Chinese in modern times.

England was a Christian Catholic nation the day on which her first king set his foot on the shores of Ireland. If she came, in the persons of her sovereign, her warriors, her priests, and her magistrates to labor seriously for the elevation of a neighboring, kindred, and Catholic people to a higher degree of civilization, to a purer doctrine, a more enlightened faith, a severer morality; if she wished to establish wiser laws, a better regulated government; to bestow on the land educational establishments, which should perfect and complete those already in existence, once so flourishing, and fallen into decay; to reconstruct the holy places ruined by the heathen Ostmen, to restore monasteries and churches,—and extend to their brother-Christians of Irish origin the right hand of Christian fellowship and fraternity while working together for a common and most holy purpose;—where is the historical evidence of the fact that, from the days of the Second to those of the Eighth Henry, any such noble attempt, or any concerted action towards carrying it out, had been thought of by English Kings, Nobles, Prelates, or Priests?

What, on the contrary, has been the invariable line of policy pursued toward the native Irish race, all through these long centuries, when Catholic England had not the pretext of difference of creed on which to found her invariable hostility, her incredibly unwise policy, and her savage cruelty towards the people, who in past ages had so hospitably received, entertained, and educated her own Thanes, Bishops, and Priests?

Let us here, as a preliminary to a full and satisfactory answer, place side by side, for the calm consideration of the reader, the contradictory testimonies of two Englishmen, one the Historian Froude still living, the other, Sir John Davies, the illustrious Attorney General of James I. in Ireland.

Mr. Froude says of the policy pursued by England in the sister-isle:

"Everything which she most valued for herself—her laws and liberties, her orderly and settled government, the most ample security for person and property,—England's first desire was to give to Ireland in fullest measure."*

Sir John Davies, who while fulfilling in Ireland his high judicial functions, was at the very source of authentic information on the subject, and made of the study of the archives a special occupation, writes as follows:

"This then I note as a great defect in the civil policy of this Kingdom,—in that for the space of 350 years at least after the conquest first attempted, the English laws were not communicated to the Irish, nor the benefit and protection thereof allowed unto them; though they earnestly desired and sought the same. For as long as they were out of the protection of the laws, so as every Englishman might oppress, kill, and spoil them without controulment, how was it possible they could be other than outlawes and enemies to the crown of England? If the King would not admit them to the condition of subjects, how could they learn to acknowledge and obey him as their sovereign? When they might not converse or commerce with civilized men, nor enter into any town or city without peril of their lives, whither should they fly but into the woods and mountains, and there live in a wild and barbarous manner."*

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* "The English in Ireland," vol. i., p. 13.

In another work this illustrious jurist and statesman, commenting on the "Statutes of Kilkenny," of which we shall presently speak, says:

"It is manifest that such as had the government of Ireland, under the crown of England, did intend to make a perpetual separation and enmity between the English and the Irish, *pretending that the English should in the end root out the Irish:* which the English not being able to do caused a perpetual war between the nations, which continued four hundred and odd years, and would have lasted to the world's end, if, in the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the Irish had not been broken and conquered by the sword, and since the beginning of his Majesty's (James I.) reign had not been protected and governed by the laws."†

These two unimpeachable witnesses are more than sufficient to upset the gratuitous affirmation of one so reckless and untrustworthy as Froude. Other witnesses, however, will appear in the course of the argument to take away the last shadow of authority of one whose very name is identified with historical fraud.

Let us note the words italicized in the quotation, "pretending, no doubt, that the English should root out the Irish." That this, and not the specious purpose of civilizing a savage race, or reforming a corrupt Christian people,—was the aim of the English conquest and the constant purpose of the English governors in Ireland, is shown by English writers. When we come to describe the means resorted to in order to carry out such purpose, we shall see how perfectly these squared with the inhuman and unchristian motives of English rule.

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* Davies' "Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never Subdued," &c., p. 90.

† Davies' "Tracts," p. 85.

From the very first stage of the Anglo-Norman invasion, we find the native inhabitants contemptuously mentioned as "the Irishry," "the Wilde Irish"; and later they are invariably designated in official documents as "the Irish Enemy," for whom there should be neither pity, nor clemency.

We are unwilling to believe for a moment, in the absence of the most peremptory proof, that the Holy See ever authorized the claims or reforming projects of Henry II., or that he and the adventurers who preceded him, had at heart any other object than that of conquest.

There had been between the peoples of Great Britain and Ireland, ever since St. Patrick had put an end to the slave-trading expeditions, too continuous and brotherly an intercourse, too generous an interchange of hospitality and spiritual benefit lovingly bestowed, on the one hand,.and of heartfelt gratitude and friendship, on the other, to predispose the Anglo-Saxon people of England, either to regard the Irish as savages or degraded Christians, or to willing assail them as barbarous foes with whom there could be no peace.

The same lust of conquest which had induced the Northmen to invade France and their descendants to possess themselves of Sicily, Naples, and England, the same unchristian and tyrannical spirit which placed so heavy a yoke on the conquered Anglo-Saxons, were manifest in the invasion of Ireland, and in the treatment of its inhabitants for centuries.

With Henry II. came over to Ireland one of those official clerical libellers, whose works, apart from any other evidence, go to prove the passionate antipathy of race against race, instead of that priestly charity which should ever distinguish the words and writings of a minister of the Gospel. This man (Gerald Barry) is known in history as Girâldus Cambrensis, a Norman born in Wales, and unacquainted with or forgetful of the priceless services which Irish Saints and Scholars had rendered to the land of his birth. He became the hired apologist of Anglo-Normon ambition and misrule in Ireland, and set about calumniating the Irish Church and people, in order to justify in the eyes of the Roman Court excesses and barbarities that merited the reprobation of all Christendom. He succeeded in imposing on so true and great a man as Pope Alexander III. We need not wonder, however, that a Welsh Monk should be perverse enough to imagine and to write in the 12th century, such atrocious accusations against a whole people, when an English Historian in the 19th would dare to brave the censure and contempt of the world by adding to his "History of England" such a master-piece of effrontery as "The English in Ireland."

Another English Historian, Hume, differs widely from Mr. Froude, although he is scarcely less bitter in his hostility to Ireland and the Irish. Speaking of the English invasion and the policy pursued by the conquerors, he says :

"The English carried still further their ill-judged tyranny. Instead of inviting the Irish to adopt the more civilized customs of their conquerors, they even refused, though earnestly solicited, to communicate to them the privilege of their laws, and everywhere marked them out as aliens and enemies. Thrown out of the protection of justice, the natives could find no security but in force; and flying the neighborhood of cities, which they could not approach with safety, they sheltered themselves in their marshes and forests from the insolence of their inhuman masters. Being treated like wild beasts, they became such; and, joining the ardor of revenge to their untamed barbarity, they grew every day more intractable and dangerous." *

Hume adopts, without verifying the truth of it, the common assertion of English writers, that the native Irish populations were barbarians in 1169, and that the barbarities inflicted on them, only made them still more barbarous. This assumption is contrary to the known truth; and is in no way necessary either to excuse or to explain the violence used toward them.

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* "History of England," vol. v., p. 412.

The fact is, that the Irish, rightly or wrongly, looked upon the Normans as the unjust invaders of England, and as the kindred of the Ostmen who had inflicted such misery on Ireland, and whom the Irish had at length won over to the Christian religion, and made one with themselves in faith, language, and nationality. The intolerable oppression exercised toward the Anglo-Saxons by William the Conqueror and his successors, had created in Ireland no little sympathy for the former and no little hatred of the latter. All English historians describe the long guerilla warfare carried on by the Saxons against their oppressors. The ballad-poetry of the country has immortalized this spirit of resistance in Robin Hood and his Foresters.

"Some bold men," says Macaulay, "the favorite heroes of our oldest ballads, betook themselves to the woods, and there, in defiance of curfew-laws and forest laws, waged a predatory war against their oppressors. Assassination was an event of daily occurrence. Many Normans suddenly disappeared, leaving no trace. The corpses of many were found bearing the marks of violence. Death by torture was denounced against the murderers, and strict search was made for them, but generally in vain; *for the whole nation was in conspiracy to screen them.*"

Again we beg the reader to bear in mind this passage, particularly the concluding sentence. Those who invaded Ireland were not the Anglo-Saxons,—the English proper; they were the Normans, equally feared and detested by English and Irish alike. The latter, as poorly equipped for resistance in the open field as their Saxon brethren across the Channel, had recourse to the only legitimate means of warfare in their power both against Henry II., and against his successors. That warfare has been carried on ever since; for Ireland never has been wholly conquered, nor has her people ever bent the neck to the yoke.

But we are, just at present, examining the assertion of such men as Froude and Giraldus Cambrensis.

It is necessary that we should demonstrate to evidence, that the

English did not act in Ireland as one Christian nation aiding another by gentle and Christian means to rise to a higher level of civilization.

It is a fact that ere a second generation of Anglo-Normans had passed away on Irish soil, the gentle virtues of the people whom they had at first been taught to hate or despise, had so gained upon their esteem and affections, that they adopted their customs, their dress, their very language. It was the fulfilment of the social law so often manifested in History,—that where a rude and warlike race possesses itself of a country inhabited by a people intellectually and morally superior, the conqueror is soon subdued by the conquered, and lifted up to the latter's level of civilization. The complaint of the Norman rulers of Ireland soon was, that the great feudal nobles living outside the Pale or on its borders were fast becoming *ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores,* more Irish than the Irish themselves.

"The Normans who fixed their homes in Ireland," says a recent and well known writer, "naturally modified their policy. They desired to live in friendship with the natives, and even to protect them from new aggressions. The succeeding generation came to have some affection for the country and the people; they often took Irish wives, and their children were fostered in Irish families. Their heirs spoke the native tongue, wore the national mantle and barret, called themselves by native names, cherished the legends and laws of the Celts; and, when in turn they came to rule, entertained bards and Brehons, and desired to be no more than Irish chiefs. The great proprietors who lived in England, the new arrivals who in each reign came in fresh swarms, as men visit a wreck on a neighboring coast, in search of plunder, and the officials of the Pale, hated these 'old English'—so they came to be called—as bitterly as they hated the natives. They could not invariably be relied on to promote the Lord Deputy's designs; they began to have some pride of country, and were not always ready to make war on their kith and kin in the interests of the Pale. To check these offenses a law was passed in the reign of Edward III., which peremptorily forbade these relations with the natives under penalty of forfeiture or death. To speak the native tongue, to use an Irish name, to wear the Irish apparel, or to adopt any of the customs of the country,—'anie guise or fashion of the Irish'—was punishable by loss of their entire lands; but to marry an Irish-woman, to intrust their children to an Irish nurse, or give them Irish sponsors at baptism,—these grave offenses were declared high treason. All men of Irish blood were forbidden to reside within a walled town, and, lest the Celts should obtain influence in a powerful spiritual confederacy, no native was to be received as a postulant in any monastery within the Pale." *

Such legislation, such a policy pursued for centuries in dealing with any nation, any race of men, on any point of the globe, must be qualified by any enlightened Statesman as *high treason against humanity,* and by the Christian moralist and publicist as *treason against high Heaven.* This impolitic, inhuman, and unchristian spirit, marking, even before the Reformation, and all through the Catholic middle ages, the misgovernment of Ireland by the Norman masters of England, naturally excited the indignant condemnation of such men as Sir John Davies, Lord Coke, and the historian Leland, himself a chaplain to the Vice-Regal government. We have yet to quote his testimony, that of an eye-witness, about the incredible barbarity with which the Catholic Irish were treated by the men, who, if we were to believe Froude, had exhausted every measure calculated to civilize and pacify them.

But there is one inevitable result of this cruel persistence in wrong-doing, that we would not have overlooked, by those to whose final verdict we appeal in this book.

Not only were "the native Irish" systematically excluded—and under the severest penalties—from all participation in whatever there was of an elevating, refining, and progressive character in English institutions, but they were shut off effectually,—so far as English might and misrepresentation could effect it,—not only from the upward social movement throughout Christendom, from a free communication with Rome, the central spiritual authority,—but from the good opinion and good will of the Roman Pontiff and his court, and from the friendship of all Christian peoples. The same system of defamation pursued in our day toward the Irish people by the organs of English public opinion, has been practised from the days of the Second Henry and the Third Edward.

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* Sir C. G. Duffy, "Young Ireland."

And they upbraid us not only with the helpless poverty, which politico-economical injustice has created, working through centuries, but with the ignorance, the rudeness, the downright savagery which their oppression and misrule tended to create! We say "tended to create": that such atrocious policy did not bear its lawful fruits, is due, not to our tyrants, but to the magnificent qualities of the Irish nature, and to the providence of God.

But let us bestow more than a passing word on that famous—infamous rather—legislation of Edward III.,—the well-known and oft-quoted "Statutes of Kilkenny," passed in the year 1366,—nearly two hundred years after the arrival of Strongbow and his adventurers.

"In the Parliament of Kilkenny, summoned in 1366, by Lionel, Duke of Clarence, son of Edward III., it was enacted that marriage, nurture of infants, and gossipred with the Irish, should be considered and punished as high treason. . . . It was also made highly penal to the English to frequent the fairs or markets of the Irish, to permit their Irish neighbors to graze their lands, to present them to ecclesiastical benefices, or to receive them into monasteries or religious houses. These statutes were confirmed in a parliament held at Drogheda, under Henry VII., in 1495." *

Our American Indian Tribes, North and South, wherever they were left to the disinterested and devoted care of the Catholic Missionaries, of the Jesuits in particular, made notable progress in all that constitutes civilization,—the refinement of life, the reformation of morals, and the creation of a regular government. The sole obstacle to their becoming stable and well-ordered Christian com-

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* Count Murphy, "Ireland Industrial," &c., p. 243.

munities, has been the short-sighted policy of the secular governments, so thwarting the beneficent action of the religious guides, that the Aborigines could only judge that either the latter were actuated in their labors by some hidden motives of selfish ambition, or that their superiors in the Government disapproved of their methods and principles. In the United States, since we set aside, in 1869, the mediation of the Jesuit Missionaries, and delivered up the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Tribes to the mercy of canting hucksters and traders without a conscience, we have been at war with the Indians: our policy is now, practically, one of extermination.

It is alike reproved by humanity, religion, and a wise economy. In the dealings of England with Ireland, the common Faith of both nations, and the close and friendly intercourse of mutual benefits between the two Islands for upwards of six hundred years, could have been a strong bond of friendship even after the Norman Conquest. But all religious principles and pretences were set aside, and war to the knife was inaugurated, when peace and conciliation might have secured such glorious results. As Sir John Davies puts it, "Root out the Irish," and plant the English everywhere in Ireland, became the sole maxim of the Governors, the sole rule of conduct of their subordinates.

What then was there in the institutions, the laws, customs, and morality of the ancient Celtic race, which could justify such a policy? The Normans had implanted in England the feudal land tenure that prevailed in France: they resolved to establish the same in Ireland. Now the Brehon Land-Law,—the expression of the national life from the beginning,—declared that the land held by each Sept, Clan, or Community belonged to them as a body, not to the chief. The death or deposition, or exaltation of such chief to a higher dignity, left the community lands in their integrity.

This system of land tenure was an eye-sore to the Norman Adventurers, as well as to all the Knights and Gentlemen who came after them, down to the time of the Tudors. Modern jurists and political economists will not readily agree with writers of the school of Froude, that such land tenure was a relic of barbarism, or that 'the people' would be benefited by replacing it by the systems long in use in Ireland and England.

Deeds of blood, such as murder, were punishable, according to the Brehon Law, not by taking blood for blood and life for life, but by the infliction of an *eric,* a fine or blood-tax, paid by the murderer and his kins-folk. The solidarity thus established in each family, in each neighborhood, for the preservation and protection of life and limb. was, illustrious modern jurists say, a more desirable form of criminal jurisprudence, than decapitation, or garroting, or hanging, or perpetual imprisonment with hard labor, or solitary confinement.

This was another subject of reproach, another proof that the Irish were mere barbarians. English legislators who hanged a man for slaying his enemy, or the destroyer of his family honor, would only impose a fine on the man who had dishonored his neighbor's wife, destroyed the peace of his home, left an eternal stain upon his children, and rendered his domestic hearth desolate for ever.

Logists in the 19th century will be slow in giving, on these points, a preference to the English over the Brehon Law.

"But there were barbarous customs, which the interests of civilization required to be done away with," we are told.

In the days of St. Patrick, there were national yearly festivals when Princes and people met in the open air, and celebrated by poetry and song and banquet the glories of their forefathers. The pagan accompaniments of these festivities had been superseded, after the conversion of the nation, by appropriate religious rites, which gave a consecration to patriotic sentiment. What the whole nation did in common on these solemn occasions, that each great chief did among his own people on stated anniversaries. This custom was taken up and held in honor by the great Anglo-Norman families, who, after a time, identified themselves with the Celtic race around them. Bards, harpists, *Seannachics* or men especially learned in the local and national traditions, graced the chieftain's board on these great feasts. The Bard, who was, not unfrequently, both Poet and

Musician, sang the ancient glories of the Sept, the Clan, or the ancestors of the Chief; and the *Seannachie* delighted his audience by rehearsing some glorious or thrilling tale of by-gone times. In the pre-Norman times, when hydromel—the mixture of water with honey—was the only beverage used at these banquets, there was no danger of intoxication. Intoxication,—unless we are very sadly mistaken, was but little known among the Celtic Irish for several generations thereafter. But, taking these touching celebrations as Irish historians describe them, they remind us of the customs of the civilized East, when Homer sang his cantos of the Iliad to the assembled citizens of some Grecian Republic, or when Pindarus thrilled with his lyrics the representatives of all Greece in the Olympiac meetings, or when Sophocles and Æschylus and Euripides reënacted, on the Panathenaic stage, the heroic achievements of the godlike men, who had created Grecian civilization.

On their little island, at the westernmost extremity of Europe, with the untraveled, mysterious Ocean extending westward and northward beyond them, this old Celtic people clung with reverent affection to these inherited customs, which recalled the time when the entire human family held their anniversaries on the sunny plains of Asia. Christianity could do so much toward refining, elevating, hallowing these national customs, which kept the glorious past ever present, while laboring to prepare a still more glorious future.

All these festivities, all these kindred customs, were, in the eyes of such men as Giraldus Cambrensis and the historical school of the present day,—remnants of paganism, to be done away with in common with everything Irish, as savoring of paganism and savagery.

"In all the Parliament rolls which are extant from the fortieth year of Edward III., when the Statutes of Kilkenny were enacted, till the reign of King Henry VII., the natives are styled 'the Irish enemy,' and the Anglo-Irish 'English rebels.'" Such is the affirmation of Sir John Davies. Another historian adds to this: "The *Irish* had always been considered not as subjects but as aliens, and even as enemies out of the protection of the law; in consequence whereof all marriages and alliances and even commerce with them were prohibited; and they might be oppressed, spoiled, and killed by the English at pleasure, not being allowed to bring any action nor any inquisition lying for the murder of an *Irishman.*"*

We resume.

It is,—we repeat it,—a matter of history that the whole aim and effort of the Anglo-Norman Government in Ireland, from 1169 to 1530, were directed toward the subjugation, the extermination rather, of the Irish race, and the extinction of everything distinctively Irish or Celtic,—institutions, laws, customs, language, and literature. No candid-minded man who takes up the authentic records of Irish history, the official acts of the Government, the calmest, most impartial, and most enlightened writers of both nations, but must come to this conclusion.

The Parliament which confirmed, in 1496, the Statutes of Kilkenny, and revived the old and somewhat dormant spirit of race-antagonism and persecution, showed that England had learned no wisdom from the utter failure of centuries of proscription. The Churchmen who sat in the English House of Lords, and gave their vote in continuance and confirmation of these odious and unchristian laws, had, seemingly, no sense of that high Christian charity which sees only brothers in all nations and races. And Henry VII.,—the English Solomon, did not veto these disgraceful enactments, this fatal and ferocious policy, which would rather unpeople a country, than admit to the protection of English law and justice a neighboring people, because they differed from the Norman masters of England in blood, language, and manners.

In 1537, Henry VIII. had a law passed by Parliament, ordaining that an elementary school should be established in every parish in England. In the same year, and by the same Parliament, a similar law was enacted for Ireland: this is known as "the Parish-Schools Act."

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* Carte's "Life of Ormonde," vol. i., p. 13. These two quotations are from Count Murphy's admirable book on Ireland. James I., in the beginning of his reign, repealed most of these odious enactments. He did not long act consistently with such beginnings. His good intentions remained without effect in Ireland.

This act stipulated that every candidate for holy orders should have an oath administered to him (by the archbishop or other prelate conferring them), obliging him to endeavor to learn the English language, and "move endoctrine, and teach all other being under his order, rule, and governance, to accomplish and perform the same," and "bid the beades in the English tongue, and preach the word of God in English, if he can preach;" and also would keep or cause to be kept within his parish, "a school for to learn English, if any children of his parish come to him for to learn the same, taking for the keeping of the said school, such convenient stipend or salary, as in the said land is accustomably used to be taken."*

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* 28 Henry VIII., ch. xv. Irish Statutes, vol. i., p. 125.

PART SECOND.

THE HISTORICAL LAND-QUESTION IN IRELAND.

I.

By what Right Ireland was Invaded, and her Lands taken Possession of.

THE fact which first led to the invasion of Ireland by Norman noblemen and Knights, vassals of Henry II., King of England, and Duke of Normandy, is familiar to every school-boy. Dermod Mac Murrough, king or overlord of Leinster, had abducted the wife of O'Rourke of Breffny, a powerful chieftain of Connaught. It so happened that Roderick O'Connor, King of Connaught, was, in 1169, Monarch of all Ireland, and as such demanded satisfaction of the King of Leinster for the wrong done to O'Rourke. This reparation Mac Murrough refused to give. The latter, some of whose doings we glanced at in the preceding chapter, was unscrupulous, unprincipled, and cruel. His crimes had alienated from him the affections of his own Leinstermen, and driven into rebellion the Danish colony of Dublin. Obliged to fly from his own estates, he crossed over to England in 1168 in order obtain help from a foreign nation against his own suzerain and subjects. From England he passed into France, sought Henry II., then in Aquitaine, and from him got permission to enlist in his cause such of the Norman Knights and Nobles, as would like to better their fortunes in Ireland. With this permission Mac Murrough hastened back to England, found in Robert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, an impoverished Norman noble, who hungered for land and wealth. De Clare, better known by his nickname of Strongbow, soon rallied round himself and Mac Murrough a band of Norman-Welsh knights as needy and land-hungry as himself, who eagerly embraced Mac Murrough's offers of broad lands and lordly power in Ireland. The principal of these were Maurice Fitz Gerald, Robert Fitz Stephen, Raymond le Gros, and Hervey Mountmorres.

Wexford was the first place to fall into the power of Fitz Stephen and Mountmorres, who led the invaders' vanguard, and who gave the native Irish a taste of what they had to expect from the new civilizers, by making an expedition into the adjoining country, wasting, destroying, slaughtering indiscriminately. What had the peaceful inhabitants done to deserve such inhumanity? . . . .

And so began Anglo-Norman rule in Ireland.

Raymond le Gros was not far behind these first destroyers. He landed at Waterford, committed great havoc among the half-armed peasants who dared to oppose himself and his mail-clad followers; seized seventy of the principal citizens of Waterford, had their arms and legs broken in presence of the terrified multitude, and then hurled from the summit of the neighboring cliffs into the sea. The town was next stormed and sacked, and reduced, for the most part, to a smoking ruin.

Amid these ruins, with the corpses of the slain still unburied around him, Dermod Mac Murrough caused the nuptials of his daughter Eva to be celebrated with Strongbow. To his son-in-law he gave, as a dower with the hand of his daughter, the Kingdom of Leinster. To Strongbow's principal followers princely territories were assigned.

Roderick O'Connor, meanwhile, and the other Irish Princes made no effectual or concerted effort to repel this handful of lawless adventurers, to whose success, indeed, the partisans of Mac Murrough, and the intelligence which the latter maintained in Dublin, and the other fortified towns, contributed greatly. For Dublin fell into their power after Wexford and Waterford; the knights, men-at-arms, and archers, inured to warfare, and acting under perfect discipline, swept through the fairest and most populous districts of Meath and Connaught, marking their way with fire and blood.

King Dermod glutted his revenge to the full. His enemies fell or fled before the Norman steel. But he did not live long to enjoy his unnatural triumph over his countrymen. He died in 1170.

That same year Strongbow returned to England to offer to his liege-lord, Henry, the Kingdom of Leinster which he had already won, the positions held by his followers, and the whole of Ireland, which he looked upon as good as won.

In 1172 Henry, at the head of a fleet of 240 sail, bearing 400 knights and 4,000 men-at-arms, landed himself in Ireland. In the interval, and after the death of Dermod Mac Murrough, the Irish Sovereign and his confederates had taken heart and counsel together. The subordinate chiefs and their followers threw themselves on the Normans everywhere, and drove them behind the walls of the towns. Dublin was besieged in vain. The Irish were entirely unequal to a contest with the well-armed and disciplined bands of the invaders. They were driven back in disorder from Dublin.

What chance had they now to resist Henry's formidable and well-appointed army? Roderick O'Connor withdrew with his forces behind the Shannon, and the English King marched through Munster like a conqueror who had subdued every foe. There was a feud between The O'Neill and Roderick O'Connor, which neither was magnanimous enough to forget in presence of the common enemy of their country. So, the minor princes submitted or seemed to submit to Henry, as he continued his unopposed progress from the sea-coast to Cashel, and from Cashel to Dublin.

In this city he spent the Christmas holidays, holding a splendid court, and surprising the native chiefs by a magnificence and a ceremonial which were intended to dazzle and overawe. Much time was spent in getting Strongbow, who now assumed the right to the Kingdom of Leinster, and all his subordinate chieftains, to go through the form of surrendering their lands to the King, and in receiving them back from him as fiefs. It was a form the Irish princes could not understand.

One man was there, the saintly Archbishop of Dublin, who had a clear and full knowledge of the revolution which was taking place in his country, and who foresaw and foretold its consequences. St. Lawrence O'Toole had vainly endeavored to unite against the invaders the Kings of Connaught and Ulster, all the available forces of his native land. To encourage Roderick O'Connor, to stimulate the patriotism of Princes and Prelates, he had himself taken the field against the men who came to Ireland only to enslave and to destroy, whose deeds of blood had filled the land with horror, and whose path, as they ravaged the country far and wide, was marked by the smoking ruins of churches and monasteries, by the corpses of the peaceful and unoffending populations massacred on their own hearthstone. The Christian Normans were more pitiless, more impious than the Pagan Ostmen of old.

Henry divided among the chief adventurers the fairest portions of the Island, acting as if it were his by right, and enjoining on them to win and hold it for him by the sword. He organized in Dublin all the branches of a regular government, appointed De Lacy and Strongbow Lords Justices, De Lacy, to whom the Kingdom of Meath was given, and Strongbow, who held the inheritance of Dermod Mac Murrough. Later, in 1775, Raymond le Gros, the butcher of Waterford, was made the first Lord Deputy. The captains of the robber-band were thus charged, by this Christian King, with the duties of the executive government and the administration of justice in the land, which was still red with the innocent blood they had shed, and whose inhabitants it must be their policy not to rule or to pacify, but to exterminate.

The King organized also in Dublin, which he intended should be the residence of a vice-regal court, an official hierarchy exactly resembling that of Windsor, marshal, justiciary, constable, seneschal, chamberlain, butler, standard-bearer, &c. English law was to supersede Brehon law in the districts conquered from the Irish, and which he divided into three counties, with their Sheriffs, and other officers. The Judiciary was also constituted on the English model. Dublin had its Courts of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer; and the Judges were to go their regular circuits and the King's Writ to run freely as in England. A Council of State or Privy Council was also established, with a Lord High Chancellor, and Lord Treasurer. The city of Dublin, which had been built by the Danes, and had till then been a Danish colony, tributary to the Kings of Leinster, was now incorporated and handed over to the citizens of Bristol to colonize and care for. To such of the clergy as accepted his authority, Henry offered the privileges enjoyed by ecclesiastical persons and property in England, exempting them from the burthens and penalties to which all lands and persons were subject under the Brehon Law. He produced, it is said, the Bull of Pope Adrian, bestowing on him the lordship of Ireland. But the latest and ripest scholarship* has discovered, in what must be accounted the genuine letter of Pope Adrian, instead of an absolute gift of the Island, a positive injunction laid on Henry in his projected expedition to Ireland, that "he should attempt nothing of the kind without the advice and consent of the Princes, Bishops, and people of Ireland."

Henry having thus regulated all things to his own satisfaction in what he considered as his new dominions, returned to England to answer before the Pope's legates for the murder of St. Thomas à Becket.

On such grounds rests English domination in Ireland. Let us look into them a little more closely.

Now as to the question of right: "The feudal system," says Mr. Walpole, "could not be applied to Ireland, where the tribal system prevailed, without revolutionizing the whole structure of society; and its application was in the eyes of the Irish nothing but a high handed invasion of the rights of property, and an act of shameful injustice.

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* See number 185 of *Analecta Juris Pontificii*, 1882.

"We find"—he continues—"the thin end of the wedge introduced by Dermot (Mac Morrough) surrendering to Henry and his heirs a kingdom of which he was only the elected monarch; to which no ruler, according to the law of the land, could have any rightful claim but through the free suffrages of the tribal chiefs. We find him again making grants of territory to Strongbow, Fitz Stephen, and others, over which he had not the shadow of a right: lands which belonged to various native Septs, whose chosen overlord he was, but over whose lands he had no right of control. The lands thus illegally granted were occupied by the Norman adventurers, who held them by force, the tribes who dwelt thereon either being expropriated or reduced to the position of tenants.

"Again, Henry based his title to be lord paramount over the island on the papal bull, which was, obviously, no title at all; and he affected to treat those who opposed him as rebels, and claimed to escheat their lands by branding them with treason, and to re-enjoy that which he never possessed, and to which he could have no claim.

"The Normans had, as yet (1189), made but slight lodgments on the coasts; but the time was coming when this fiction of feudal tenure was to be forced gradually upon the whole island, and to be converted into an engine for the transfer of the soil from the native Celt to the colonizing Norman. Every effort of the people to assert its independence was to be punishable as treasonable offence, entailing the resulting penalty of a forfeiture of the land. When the owners were dispossessed, they might be permitted to occupy as tenants at will, to support themselves by tilling the ground, and to pay for the privilege in rent to the new landowner. What was begun in 1170 was continued in after generations, until the whole island came into the possession either of English immigrants, or those natives who accepted the new order of things, and received again the lands as grants from the English crown.

"It should be remembered also that the invasion of Ireland in the twelfth century was not an invasion by England, but by the Normans of the continent. Henry was Duke of Normandy and Count of

Anjou, and he also happened to be King of England. His ancestors had reduced England to a dependency of the Norman duchy, and in like manner the Normans of his day proceeded to spread through England over to Ireland. England had been occupied by the penniless riffraff of Normandy; after a hundred years' occupation of England, the Norman adventurers of that day swarmed upon the coasts of Ireland, in order to win a Kingdom after the manner of their forefathers. It was a fresh invasion of Northmen by a circuitous route through Normandy and Britain.

"Henry had accomplished his primary object, that of securing his authority over the colonists. He left it to them to maintain themselves, and to extend their borders as best they could, relying on the incentives of self-preservation and rapacity." *

Henry II., then, before returning to England, organized in Dublin a Vice-royal government, with Courts of Law as in London. Thus was established that system of rapine and oppression, miscalled the Irish government, which has ever since cursed the land with its presence and its acts. Then appeared the first Lords Justices and the hateful Irish Judiciary, which dealing out iniquity from the Bench, instead of administering justice with a firm and impartial hand, has made the Irish soul sick of the very name of law, and skeptical about the very existence of justice in Ireland.

Then began the rule of Dublin Castle, with that abominable Officialism, the very odious nature of which Englishmen are beginning at length to understand, but which they must appreciate thoroughly, if they would inaugurate the reign of Justice in Ireland by removing it once and for ever.

Once and for all let us have unimpeachable testimony as to the existence and nature of this Officialism, which we have designated as organized Rapine, Oppression, and Injustice, under the sacred name of Government,—of government for a Christian people, whom the English had come over to civilize and elevate.

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* "Hist. of the Kingdom of Ireland," pp. 39-41.

"A set of needy and rapacious adventurers passing over from Britain, in a constant succession, made no scruple of enriching themselves by the most unjustifiable methods. There was not a native who could be secure from their rapacity." *

Here is the testimony of another writer, still living, and whose work on Ireland has won the praise of the most bitter opponents of Irish claims :

"Never was a country afflicted for centuries by a more unjust and more feeble administration. Never was a country more in need of a just and firm government. Unfortunately, one after another the sovereigns of England, preoccupied by foreign wars and domestic broils, were obliged to leave Ireland almost entirely in the hands of their Lords Deputies. Even these latter, as a rule, spent the greater part of their time in England; the government in their absence being carried on by two or more Lords Justices. Of the Lords Deputies and Lords Justices, especially the latter, the private interests lay directly in the opposite direction to their public duty. Their policy, accordingly, was shaped altogether to suit their own private ends and not to promote the welfare of the country they governed. This went on for centuries. The monarchs saw it; but, generally speaking, were unable to prevent it. It is one of the many strange anomalies of the history of Ireland." †

Hear another writer, a chaplain to the Vice-Regal Government in Dublin :

"At a distance from the supreme seat of power, and with the advantage of being able to make such representations of the state of Ireland as they pleased, the English Vicegerents acted with the less reserve. They were generally tempted to undertake the conduct of a disordered State, for the sake of private emolument, and their object was pursued without delicacy or integrity, sometimes with inhuman violence." ‡

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* Crawford, "History of Ireland," vol. i., p. 177.

† Count John Nicholas Murphy, "Ireland Industrial," &c., p. 242

‡ Leland, "Hist. of Ireland," vol. ii., p. 12.

Such was the System which Leland knew well in his own day, and in the preceding six centuries. Here is how he describes, in another passage, the working of this system:

"The oppression exercised with impunity in every particular district; the depredations everywhere committed among the inferior orders of the people, not by open enemies alone, but by those who called themselves friends and protectors, and who justified their outrages by the plea of lawful authority; their avarice and cruelty, their plundering and massacres were still more ruinous than the defeat of an army, or the loss of a city. The wretched sufferers had neither power to repel, nor law to restrain or vindicate their injuries. In times of general commotion, laws the most wisely framed and most equitably administered, are but of little moment. But now the very source of public justice was corrupted and poisoned." *

English scholars of impartial mind, inquiring into the causes of the irreconcilable hatred borne toward England and English rule in Ireland by the natives of the latter country, and Protestant Clergymen even who read the facts of Irish history with the sincere desire of knowing the truth, have alike arrived at the same conclusion.

"The true cause which for a long time fatally opposed the gradual coalition of the Irish and English race, under one form of government, was, that the great English settlers found it more for their immediate interest, that a free course should be left to their oppressions; that many of those, whose lands they coveted, should be considered as aliens; that they should be furnished for their petty wars by arbitrary exactions; and in their rapines and massacres be freed from the terrors of a rigidly impartial and severe tribunal." †

To illustrate the perfect truth of what is here asserted with a 'moderation' easily accounted for in the writer, we have only to remember the names of the two men whom Henry II. left to govern in his stead, under the title of Lords Justices, the Kingdom of Ireland, or as much of it as they could control. These were Hugh de Lacy,

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* Leland, "Hist. of Ireland," i. 328. † *Ibidem*, i. 267.

Earl of Meath, and Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke (Strongbow). That is to say, he left behind him to rule with justice and humanity, a people whose blood these adventurers had ruthlessly shed without cause, and whose lands they had taken, and more of whose lands they were given to take and hold with the sword. From that day forth the English Interest, governing from Dublin Castle, was to obtain by all means available the lands of the Irish people, and to treat as enemies the people whose lands they wanted. That English Interest was thenceforward upheld by every needy adventurer who hungered for land, and whose conscience accepted as lawful all means of getting it.

Thus begins the long series of Lords Deputies and Lords Justices, perpetuating the land-hunger, and the gigantic system of wrong and rapine which is still bearing such deadly fruits for both countries.

"By the new adventurers," says Leland, describing how the system worked at a later period, "employed in the service of the Crown, both (the old Anglo-Irish and the Celtic Irish) were regarded indiscriminately as one people equally disaffected, and dangerous to the *English interest.* These men who had raised large fortunes in Ireland and frequently upon the ruin of the old natives, affected to be considered as the only loyal subjects of the realm; and artfully contrived that even the most respectable of the old English families should be regarded by the Crown with suspicion, and excluded from every office of trust and honor." *

As generation succeeded generation after 1173, the Norman and English adventurers with their families became to a very great extent identified with the Celtic population around them. Having obtained the object for which they had left Normandy or England, they were content to enjoy what they had, and to live in peace with their Irish neighbors. As the Lords Deputies and Lords Justices, who had recently arrived from England, and the swarm of land-hungry adventurers who were always hanging about Dublin Castle or filling the government offices,—were still under the influence of the Land-Hunger, they did not want the old settlers to thwart their schemes. They kept them out of office.

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* Leland, iii. 101.

So a bitter feud arose between the old English colonists and the Government in Dublin Castle, with its Privy Council, and the army of needy adventurers,—men of good birth most of them and of broken fortunes, who came over recommended for patronage, and with the belief that Ireland and the Irish were only made to be the prey of their English masters.

The former, born in Ireland, and brought up among its Celtic population, had adopted the manners, the dress, and even the very language of a race, who, if less warlike or far less efficiently equipped for war than themselves, were their superiors in all that constituted true civilization. Without ever becoming identified with their Celtic neighbors in political interests or national aspirations, the Anglo-Norman colonists were perfectly satisfied with their lot in Ireland. The great nobles lived like independent princes. They had usurped the place of the ancient native chieftains, and had won, in many instances, the devoted adherence of the members of the Septs. They ruled their possessions in accordance with the Brehon Law, and cared but little for the King's Writ, his Sheriffs, or his Judges, defying, amidst the fastnesses of a thickly wooded country, the authority even of the Lord Deputy, or the Lords Justices.

Thus it happened that the Castle Officials, and the hungry crowd who ever hung about the Castle precincts, as well as the London Privy Council, came to look upon these descendants of the De Lacys, De Clares, and Fitz Geralds as little better than rebels: thus, indeed, arose the denomination of "English Rebels" by which they soon came to be distinguished,—the name of the "Irish Enemies" being reserved to the Native Celts, against whom both the new and the old English Interests combined when it suited them.

It was quite a convenient policy both for the Dublin Officials and the King's Government in London, to place the Old English in Ireland on a footing of permanent rebellion,—to have, at least, public opinion regard them as such, in order, when the land-hunger around the Castle became irresistible, some pretext could be devised, some fair occasion found, for seizing and confiscating all, or a portion of their estates.

It became a necessary policy for the Lord Deputies and Lords Justices to break down and weaken, if they could not destroy, the great Anglo-Irish lords, who were one of the chief obstacles to a new division of the spoils. We have a striking instance of this in the reign of Edward III. Edward was sadly in want of money for his continental wars, and was quite earnest in his endeavors to obtain supplies from his Irish Parliament. But the lords spiritual and temporal, who were continually harassed by the Castle Government, were unwilling to grant money till they had obtained redress for their own grievances. The most powerful among the Anglo-Irish barons, the Earl of Desmond, had, on one occasion (1331), been arrested and imprisoned by the Lord Lieutenant, Sir Anthony Lucy, who without any process of law, or formal proof of guilt, kept the young nobleman in strict confinement for eighteen months, and confiscated a large portion of his estates. This high-handed act of tyranny pleased the king, whose need was great, and who furthermore announced his purpose to take back all the grants of land made to the Irish proprietors, under pretext that these had not paid their dues to the crown. A Parliament was summoned to meet in Dublin, thereupon, and the lords were served, in due course, with the writ requiring their attendance. But they, at the instigation of the Earl of Desmond, refused to answer the summons, meeting, instead, at Callan, in Kilkenny, and drawing up a Remonstrance to the King.

"Chiefly, and with particular warmth and earnestness, they represented to the King," says Leland, "that his English subjects of Ireland had been traduced and misrepresented to the throne, by those who had been sent from England to govern them; men who came into the Kingdom without a knowledge of its state, circumstances, or interest; whose sole object was to repair their shattered fortunes; too poor to support their state, much less to indulge their passions, until they had filled their coffers by extortion, to the great detriment and affliction of the people; that, notwithstanding such misrepresentations, the English subjects of Ireland had ever adhered in loyalty and allegiance to the Crown of England, had maintained the land for the King and his progenitors, served frequently both against the Irish and their foreign enemies, and mostly at their own charges." *

Here comes in the Car of Juggernaut, directed this time by the Lord Deputy, Sir Ralph Ufford. So long as this terrible engine of oppression only moved into the Celtic districts it might crush with perfect impunity its thousands of victims without arousing, seemingly, remonstration, indignation, or any sentiment of horror. But when the rolling of its wheels were heard on the lands of the Fitz Geralds or the De Burgos, or the De Lacys, and a single fair English limb was mangled or maimed by it, the 'prelates, earls, barons, and community of Ireland,'—that is the whole Pale, lifted up their voice and called for vengeance or redress.

Sir Ralph Ufford,—as Hollinshed informs us, "was verie rigorous, and through persuasion (it is said) of his wife, was more extreame and covetous than otherwise he would have beene." This "singular good justicer," as Davies calls him, had "extreame" land-hunger; and there was a host of the land-hungry behind him, who propelled the Car of Juggernaut into Desmond, the King's standard waving in front. In 1344, he "seized Desmond's estates, treacherously got possession of Castle-island and Iniskisty in Kerry, and hanged Sir Eustace de la Poer, Sir William Grant, and Sir John Cottrel," says Walpole. But the oppression was more odious than this historian describes it.

The refusal to answer a writ of summons to Parliament, especially when supported by a remonstrance to the King, signed in a convention of the Estates of the Kingdom, was not an act either of rebellion or of high treason. Yet Ufford hastened to confiscate, by his own

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* "Hist. of Ireland," i. 358.

arbitrary act, the broad lands of Desmond, and let them out to farm at an annual rent. "And whilst he yet remained in Munster," says the historian of Kerry, "he devised ways how to have the Earl of Desmond apprehended; which being brought to pass, he afterward delivered him upon mainprise of these sureties, whose names ensue." *

These sureties were no less than two noblemen and twenty-four of the gentry. The trick of requiring an extraordinary number of sureties among the great landed proprietors,—if it be really the first of the kind resorted to, served as a precedent for succeeding Lords Justices and Lord Deputies. Ufford foresaw that Desmond would make default; at any rate, he was one to contrive that the impetuous Earl should do so, and thereby afford the pretext of seizing and confiscating the estates not only of Desmond but of his sureties. The two noblemen alone and two of the gentry were spared: "The others were utterly ruined thereby." Thus three or four hundred thousand acres fell into the hands of the Lord Justice, who, so long as he lived, kept as close and deadly a grip of his prey, as any gigantic cuttle-fish on the coasts of Newfoundland.

Encouraged by the success of his tyranny toward Desmond and his gentlemen-sureties, Ufford next moved against the other branch of the Geraldines. The Earl of Kildare and a number of other noblemen and landed proprietors were cast into prison, the charters and letters-patent granting them their estates were annulled, and the entire Pale was filled with alarm and dismay.

Yet Edward III., on reading the remonstrance from the Kilkenny Convention, gave up his project. The Earl of Kildare was knighted by him for his bravery at the siege of Calais; and in 1354, the Earl of Desmond, now restored to all his estates, was made Lord Justice.

But so long as Ufford ruled Ireland from Dublin Castle, he made himself practically independent of the King's government. No one

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* Smith's "Kerry," 245.

could leave an Irish port for England without his permission; and he took good care that no complaints about his own misdeeds should ever reach the royal ear.

If the Officialism of Dublin Castle contrived to secure itself impunity in wrong-doing, reign after reign, during centuries, even when its tyranny only oppressed the men of English blood,—what freedom must it not have enjoyed when there was only question of oppressing or massacring "the Irish Enemy"?

In 1314 the victory of Bruce at Bannockburn induced the Northern Irish, who had never come to terms with the English, to ask Edward Bruce, descended of their own royal line, to head a revolt in Ireland against the common enemy. "A petition from the Irish chieftains," says Mr. Walpole, "was sent to the Pope, setting forth their complaints against the English, and praying him to interfere and restrain the King of England from molesting them. But the Irish (Anglo-Irish?) clergy were true to the English cause, and the only answer vouchsafed was the excommunication of the Bruces and all who took up arms against the English."*

We give this author's statement without approval or comment. But if ever such an "answer" was returned from Rome to the complaints of the Irish nation or a part thereof, it must have been on misrepresentations made by England, not on the ground that the Irish had no fault to find with English rule.

Listen to the voice of the Irish themselves addressing their grievances to what may possibly have been the unwilling and prepossessed ear of Pope John XXII., in 1316.

"Ever since the English first appeared upon our coasts, they entered our territories under a certain specious pretence of charity, and outward false show of religion, endeavoring at the same time, by every evil artifice, to extirpate us root and branch. And, without any other right than that of the strongest, they have so far succeeded by base fraud and treachery, that they have driven us from the fair and fertile lands in which we dwelt, and which we had inherited from our fathers, and forced us to seek a refuge in the mountains, forests, and morasses, like hunted wild beasts. Nor can the caverns and recesses in the wilderness protect us against their covetousness. They pursue us even into these dismal retreats, taking from us the possession of the barren mountain tracts and naked rocks, claiming as their own every inch of soil on which we can leave our foot-prints." *

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* "Kingdom of Ireland," p. 56.

In quoting the words of this remonstrance, or petition, or address, —as it may please historical scholars to call the document,—we had a twofold purpose, to place in the mouths of the native Irish an expression of their own sense of the atrocious wrongs under which they were suffering, and that this should be understood in connection with the complaints of the Anglo-Irish about English misgovernment and the oppression of Castle Officialism.

As this latter continued ever to be, and continues to this day to be, a monstrosity and a scandal in the eyes of all fair-minded Englishmen, we shall conclude this chapter by quoting here the opinion of a recent writer, one occupying a position of trust under the British Government. We must ask the reader to pass with us from the reign of Edward III. to the last decade of the reign of Elizabeth. Everyone knows what influence Cecil, Lord Burghley, had in her councils. It will be instructive and edifying to see how his wise and moderate policy toward Ireland was thwarted and counteracted not only by Irish Lord Deputies and Lords Justices, but officials like the celebrated Irish Secretary, Edmund Spencer, and his friend Sir Walter Raleigh.

"Burghley saw the evil consequences to England as well as to Ireland, of this anti-Irish policy. But he stood almost alone. At rare intervals and in the earlier part of her reign Elizabeth supported him. Her officials in Ireland, however, obstructed Burghley at every point. In those days the Irish judges were politicians as well as jurists. In those days the Irish Privy Council represented one interest only.

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* Quoted by Carey, *Vindiciæ Hibernicæ*, c. iii.

The head of the judicial bench spoke of the Prime Minister's suggestions of pardons and remedial measures as '*agreeing to recompense felonious offences*,' and, instead, the Lord Chancellor's policy was summed up in one word '*hanging*.' . . . This representative of justice in Ireland wrote a letter to Walsingham, in which he expresses his opinion that it would 'have been better, if ten years past the Governor had put on determination to subject the whole Irishry to the sword.' The members of the Irish Privy Council were as much opposed to Burghley's views as the judges, and so indeed were nearly all the officials. From the permanent staff of Dublin Castle, down to the newly appointed magistrates in Kerry and Cork, there appeared to be a dogged determination to act against the wishes of Burghley, and to rule Ireland by coercion alone. The combination of the impolitic official element in Ireland was too strong for the wise Lord Treasurer. Carefully selected Lord Deputies failed him. Secretaries that he sent to Dublin Castle armed with his prudent counsel and their own good intentions, gave way to the dominating spirit of the Pale and became coercionists. He had no real Parliament, no English Press, no influential public opinion to support him. But though he could not carry his policy, he lived long enough to see the Nemesis that was coming. . . .

"In vain he said 'do not drive the Irish from the soil; do not give confiscated lands to individuals.' . . . Sir Walter Ralegh was one of the first to feel the consequences of his own injustice. The remnant of the Irish peasants that escaped the sword had hardly been forced to cross the Blackwater, to the mountains and woods, leaving the fields of Desmond to the new tenants from Devonshire, when the grievances of the landlord reached the ears of Cecil. The Lord Treasurer and the English Council had received a significant report from the Commissioners for surveying the seigniories of the escheated lands, dated from Youghal, October, 1586.

"'At Lismore and Youghal,' they wrote, 'we have stayed these eight days in meeting and bounding such lands as we hear Sir Walter Rawley is to have, which hath been exceedingly difficult and painful by reason that the lands having been long waste, and generally overgrown with deep grass, and in most places with heath, brambles, and furze, whereby, and by the extremity of rain and foul weather, we have been greatly hindered in our proceeding; and for that we find all the gentlemen undertakers and their associates that came hither to be again departed into England, we surcease from further dealing therein until the spring.'

"The following year a rough survey was completed, and Ralegh's courage and vigor enabled him to begin, in the words of his leaves, '*the repeopling of the Province of Munster.*' At first he murmured about the physical difficulties of reclearing the sort of secondary jungle that had sprung up on the removal of the old agricultural population. Any natives that came from the woods and mountains were unfriendly to the new settlers. Even when a sort of truce was proclaimed, and they were offered sustenance and wages instead of the rope or the edge of the sword, Ralegh could not get them to assist in moving the timber his colonists cut down, or to do a stroke of useful work. This form of passive resistance annoyed the Undertaker, who turned to the Government—what was called the Government—for a remedy. At first the Government tried to assist him. The refusal of workmen to do work was to be treated as a sort of treason. New schemes of coercion were invented; but they did the settlers no good. Dublin Castle at length got tired of Ralegh's suggestions.

" Ralegh then turned to England and complained of Dublin Castle. Whilst he could not get his own rents and profits, the trifling sum payable to the Crown was dragged from him by distress warrants, evictions, and costly legal proceedings. His English are not protected by the Lord Deputy. The Lord Deputy encourages rebels to push out Englishmen from his castles and farms. The Sheriff carries off five hundred milch kine from his people for an alleged debt of fifty marks which Ralegh believed he had paid, but which was not only enforced again, but magnified into a debt of four hundred pounds. . . . 'The doting Deputy,' he finally adds, 'hath dispeopled me.'

"Ralegh's despairing cry might have been the echo of the last words of the hunted Earl of Desmond, of whose penalties as well as of whose forfeitures, he seemed to be the political heir." *

As we are standing at the fountain-head of Irish misgovernment, misery, and suffering, these witnesses whom we call before the bar of public opinion, will throw light on the present while accounting for the past.

"One part of Ralegh's Irish policy which affected his own fate and contributed to the apparently never-ending troubles of the two Kingdoms, was his successful opposition to the conciliatory schemes of the second Essex. It was rumored that the Queen had offered Ralegh the post of Deputy before Essex was sent to Dublin. However that may be, Ralegh was her most intimate adviser on Irish affairs during the Lord Lieutenancy of Essex.

. . . . "The Irish manuscripts known as the Annals of the Four Masters, speak of Essex as having displayed 'the most splendid regal state ever exhibited by the Saxons in Ireland.' As to his Irish policy they say, 'When the Earl of Essex arrived, the first thing proclaimed was that every one of the Irish who was sorry for having gone in opposition to the Queen should receive forgiveness, that any of the men of Ireland whose estates had been taken by the Saxons through oppression, violence, or illegality, would have a restitution of the same.' No wonder the undertaker should determine to trip up a Lord Lieutenant whose views were so interpreted by the natives.

"The trenchant style of Ralegh can be detected in the Queen's answers, censuring and destroying the plans of Essex. 'Your pen flatters you with phrases, that you are disgraced from hence, that *poor Ireland* suffers in you. We will not tolerate this.' And in a more official despatch to the Lord Lieutenant in Council, she tells him: 'Your opinions deserve reproof rather than answer. . . . You have been the cause of corruption in religion by favoring popery.' As to Essex's agreement with the gallant Hugh O'Neill, Elizabeth writes: 'To trust this traitor upon oath is to trust a devil upon his religion.'

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* Sir John Pope Hennessy, "Ralegh in Ireland," c. 15.

"Replying from Ireland, he said: 'Is it not known that from England I receive nothing but discomfort and soul's wounds? Is it not lamented of your Majesty's faithful subjects, both here and there, that a Cobham and a Ralegh should have such credit and favor with your Majesty?'

. . . . "At the trial he (Ralegh) was a witness against Essex, when the latter exclaimed, 'What booteth it to swear this fox?'

. . . . "The biographers of Essex still keep speculating on the mystery that surrounds his fall, instead of turning to the mass of Irish correspondence now available to writers and students. For the months of remorse, the worry and sleepless nights that preceded the death of Elizabeth, ample material can also be found in that unpublished history. One day the Queen adopts Ralegh's advice, the next he is in disgrace. Then in a sort of despair she calls him back to read another batch of Irish despatches. Many years had passed since Ralegh told her how Ireland could be held, by vigorous measures, without any cost to her exchequer. He had gone on repeating that the true policy was to uphold the 'Inglishe inhabitants in Ireland which are yet strong enough to master the Irishe without any charge to the Queen.' She acted on this advice, and now after forty years of repression, she finds Ireland more Irish than ever, more costly to her treasury, and kept down by the largest army of occupation that any English sovereign had sent across the seas. Though Ralegh had foreseen something of this,—though in 1593 he had written—

"'That accursed kingdom hath always bynn but as a trafique for which Her Majestye hath paid both fraight and costome, and others received the merchandize; and other than such it shall never be;'

"though in the same letter he had said,—

"'A million hath bynn spent by Her Majestye in Ireland. A better kingdome might have bynn purchased att a less price.'

"and though he added,—

"'Destiney is stronger than councell'—

"Yet he continued to advise the sending of more soldiers and the wasting of more money. Up to the hour of the Queen's death he continued to pit his counsel against the destiny that destroyed Elizabeth's Irish policy and was to overwhelm himself.

. . . . "The Irish policy of the Stuart kings was halting and defective. But it was perfection itself compared to what had preceded it and what followed it. The early years in that glimmering of justice and common sense brought some hope to Ireland and corresponding disaster to Ralegh." *

This is but a peep into Elizabeth's Privy Council room, and into the council-chamber of Dublin Castle, where Edmund Spenser is Chief Secretary, and where such men as Sir George Carew, and Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, and Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, are planning the settlement of Ireland by the policy of exterminating the Irish, and planting the land with English Protestants.

We shall see this policy carried out. It is only a brief glance at one of the terrible prospects before us.

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* Sir John Pope Hennessy, "Ralegh in Ireland," c. 40.

II.

WHAT BECAME OF THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE UNDER THE "CIVILIZING" METHODS OF THE ENGLISH.

1. *The Country:—Devastation.*

THE address or petition of the Irish to Pope John XXII., describes truthfully, in a few lines, the "devastation" committed systematically on these portions of the Island held by the native Celts. It asserts with no less truth the process of "extermination" carried on by Lord Deputy after Lord Deputy, as well as by every noble or gentle "land-grabber" who could obtain a slice of the territory won by force or fraud from the "Wilde Irishe."

The border-land between the English Pale and the rest of the Island was continually wasted either by the Settlers, who considered it lawful to make forays into the Irish country, carrying fire and sword whithersoever they rode, destroying harvests and habitations, massacring indiscriminately the unfortunate people, as they would so many wild beasts, and carrying off their flocks and herds; or by the enraged Irish who retaliated upon the inhuman "Sassmach," by falling upon their settlements on every favorable occasion, and emulating their deeds of rapine and blood.

But we should only convey a very incorrect idea of the mischief done to the land, and to all the dearest interests of industry and humanity therein by this mutual destruction, were we to leave the reader to believe that this border-land only extended around the narrow zone limiting northward and westward the small district comprised, in the 14th century, within the Pale proper.

The enormous grants of land—of territory, rather—made to the Fitz Geralds, Lacys, De Courcys, De Burgos, &c., embraced the greatest part of Munster, Connaught, and Leinster, with the whole of Meath, and no small part of Ulster. These great Barons, even when they had become to the English eyes *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores* ('more Irish than the Irish themselves'), were English all the same, and at continual war with the surrounding Septs, or with their powerful neighbors and rivals of Anglo-Norman descent. The wars of the Desmonds and Butlers often made a desert of the loveliest and most fertile portions of the South. Connaught was as often desolated by its own intestine fueds or by the incursions of the O'Neills from Ulster, or the hostile bands of the O'Briens, Butlers, and Geraldines. So was it with Meath. Thus there was no peace for the land, no rest for the earth from the ravages of fire and sword, and from the successive year's flood after the desolating fires.

For nothing is more injurious to the plough-lands of Ireland, than to lie long fallow. The soil is not of very great depth, and retains, in a very moist climate, too much of the water. This, formerly, was pumped up by the magnificent forests; it is so still by the growing crops. But when the land is idle long, it grows reedy and deteriorates. Culture does not restore to it the elements which absorb the excessive humidity, and foster its fertilizing qualities.

Within the districts exclusively peopled by the Native Celts the old system of culture prevailed. The corn was superabundant for the needs of all; the great flocks and herds supplied a superabundance of animal food, of 'white meats' especially. There were everywhere great fields of flax; for down to the age of the Reformation the manufacture of linen as well as that of wool were household industries.

It still—we mean Celtic Ireland—was a land teeming with milk and honey, the golden harvests waving in the open, the glorious herds of kine and the flocks of sheep pasturing on the hill-sides or within the recesses of the forests.

The border-lands and what might be termed the mixed territory, where Celt and Anglo-Irish lived together in comparative peace, shared in this abundance. Indeed the keen eye of the "land-hungry" Barons had from the first selected the most fertile portions of the country. The Golden Vale of Tipperary obtained its name from the rich harvests it bore, and the over-plenty it yielded in medieval, as well as in post-Reformation, times. Throughout all these centuries, this "Land of the West" had been, for hungry English fortune-seekers, like the Garden of the Hesperides, in which apples of red gold loaded the trees.

In spite of the alternate neglect and rapacity of the English Government and its representatives in Ireland, in spite of the frequent ravages of guerilla warfare going on over its surface, the Pale and the English settlements generally, would revive and flourish in a single season of peace and thrift. But, as we shall see, the entire population in these parts were native Celts.

Hear what is said of this part of the country during the first half of the sixteenth century, just as the old order of things was undergoing so deep and momentous a change.

"The English Pale, which was now an extending instead of a contracting area, was growing in prosperity. There was a steady rise in the value of its produce; the land was well tilled, and full of cattle; the cities and towns were populous; the houses well built, and furnished 'with plate, furniture, and apparel'; the youth (in consequence of the suppression of Catholic Schools) were sent abroad for education to Louvain, Dôle, and Rome, and to study law at the inns of court in London. The condition of the walled towns, both those on the coast and those in the interior, which were almost exclusively inhabited by people of unmixed English blood, was a great contrast to that of the open country: a brisk traffic was carried on between the citizens and the country-folk, and the seaboard cities were the emporia of an increasing trade with other countries, more especially Spain. There had been a considerable addition to the 'Shireland.' Anathy, by the submission of O'Farrell, had been converted into the county of Longford; the county of Connaught had been sub-divided into the counties of Mayo and Galway; and Roscommon had had

Sligo and Leitrim carved out of it. Thomond had been denominated County Clare, and transferred from the province of Munster to that of Connaught. The territory of Desmond, however, was in a wretched condition. The hereditary quarrels between the Earls of Desmond and Ormonde had turned the country into a wilderness; and Sir Henry Sidney, in the description he gives of it, says that 'he never saw a more waste and desolate land, no not in the confines of other countries where actual war hath continually been kept by the greatest princes of Christendom.'" *

Such were the effects of the wars between two of the most powerful Anglo-Irish nobles. It was the policy of the Government to provoke and foster these feuds, in order to weaken, break down, and destroy the power of these nobles, whom the Tudors and the Stuarts alike treated as enemies.

But we return from this brief glance bestowed on the Pale, to the real Irish country and people.

Ireland, on the whole, was, as we have said, still a land of beauty, fertility and plenty. It is not a little curious to find in the conclusion of a Memoir presented, it is thought, to Henry VIII., and drawn up at the instance of Cardinal Wolsey, the following picture of Ireland as nature made her, and as man's industry could keep her.

"Also the Pandar saith: 'That if this land (of Ireland) were put once in order, as aforesaid, it would be none other but a very paradise, delicious of all pleasaunce, in respect and regard of any other land in this world, inasmuch as there never was stranger or alien person, great and small, that would leave it willingly, notwithstanding the said mis-order, if he had the means to dwell therein honestly (i. e. honorably and as became his condition), much greater would be his desire if the land were once put in order.'"

We have spoken above of the culture of flax; one word about the manufacture of linen. In general it must be said, that the industries of the native Irish received from their English neighbors as

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* "Kingdom of Ireland," p. 124.

little encouragement, as did the Irish literature and language. But what the former had of home manufacture, not only sufficed abundantly for their own need, but were coveted by their rivals of the Pale, and sought after by continental peoples. The linen which was the great staple of clothing among a pastoral and peaceful race, was produced by their own looms. It was, as we have seen, extensively used in the church services, on the Altar, in priestly robes of every description (for silk only began to be prescribed by rule in the 14th century); in the embroidered hangings that decorated sanctuary, nave, and transepts. It was no less used in decorating the halls of the wealthy and the great. Its quality was so superior that it was exported in considerable quantities,—till commercial jealousy demanded and obtained acts suppressing the trade.

So shall we presently see the woollen industry sacrificed, and, in due course of time, every single source of skilled and profitable labor in Ireland, dried up by legislative enactments, and farming alone left, (and such farming !) as the sole resource of the nation, while the very produce of this wretched agriculture was, yearly, drained out of Ireland, as her rivers are drained into the ocean, never to flow back again.

Unfortunate country ! And still more unfortunate people ! It were to the hasty reader of history difficult to say, which of the two, the naturally fertile and teeming land, or the naturally intellectual, lore-loving, religious, and generous people, has been treated with more unreason, more injustice to the Giver of all good, who made both so rich and so responsive to the hand of intelligent husbandry.

2. *The People.*

What is, perhaps, most saddening to a man of true Christian feeling and temper, is the reflection, that all this horrible wrong was perpetrated by one Catholic people against another.

We, therefore, take up the thread of our argument. We are going to account for the measures taken under the Tudors for a reconquest and a re-plantation of Celtic Ireland.

We see that the proscriptive legislation embodied in the Statutes of Kilkenny, instead of touching the conscience of a people who called themselves Christians and prided themselves on being Catholics, was only a prelude to more oppressive measures.

At the close of the reign of Henry VII., the re-enactment of all these anti-Irish laws was deemed a necessary step toward recovering in the island the ground which English ascendancy had lost. The fact is that the men who governed in the Castle of Dublin were bent on reconquering the country by the sword, and in enforcing by the sword the reign of feudal or English law and the supremacy of the English race and language. This was an idea again and again urged upon the English Privy Council by men who had been sent over to Ireland to inquire into the condition of things there. And their suggestions agreed with the opinion and sentiment of the nation and its rulers. That Henry VII. did not, before he died, adopt energetic measures to carry out and supplement the Statutes of Kilkenny, was due to no lack of good will to do so, but to the civil broils at home, and to the King's reluctance to engage in an expensive and protracted military undertaking, such as the reduction by force of a whole country to uniformity of law, language, government, and civil discipline.

It is not generally understood to what very narrow limits the refluent wave of Irish "barbarism" and guerilla warfare had reduced the territory over which, in the year 1500, the English domination extended. The authority of the Lord Deputy and his Privy Council did not extend beyond Drogheda and the line of the Boyne toward the north, and southward beyond the line of the Liffey, and a very narrow circuit around Dublin. Even within these limits the great majority of the inhabitants were of the Irish-Celtic race, speaking the Gaelic tongue, following the customs of their ancestors, and appealing to the decisions of their Brehon judges in all differences and law-suits. On the borders of their very narrow Pale, and beyond it, wherever in any of the Provinces the great Anglo-Norman families lived, they had adopted the language, dress, customs, and laws of the Celts among whom their lot was cast. Feudal tenure and English law existed not for them or their numerous dependants, or it existed only in name. Burkes, Butlers, Fitz Geralds, and their fellows, were thoroughly identified in affection, and every patriotic interest with the nation of which they were a part. Their very names, in the districts where they lived, and among their people, had been assimilated to the Irish surnames : frequent intermarriage with the noble Irish families had left in their blood but a very small admixture of the Norman or Anglo-Saxon. They were content to be ruled by Brehon jurisprudence : they were happy in the free, simple, and virtuous life which they led with their people around the monasteries and churches which their own munificence had founded and endowed. They cared not for the honors and enjoyments shared by their class in England. They asked of the English King only to forget them in the midst of the little principalities which they ruled with no tyrannical sway.

But English Kings and their greedy and unscrupulous representatives in Ireland, had more than one motive for not forgetting either the "degenerate English"—the "English rebels," as they were conveniently designated,—or the "Irish Enemy."

Any student or reader of the annals of both countries during the 16th and 17th centuries must be blind, who does not see how the "public opinion" prevailing in the court circles both of London and Dublin, pointed steadily, year after year, to renewed and energetic efforts toward the complete and final subjugation of this "Irish Enemy," toward the establishing of the English law and the English tongue and customs throughout the length and breadth of the rebellious isle.

Already Henry VII. had anticipated his granddaughter Elizabeth not only in proscribing the Irish language, customs, and laws, but in forbidding the very use of Irish patronymics and war-cries. To the dainty ears of the men and women familiar with the open licentiousness, coarse language, and coarser vices of the English Court and nobility at that very time, the battle-cries of *Shanet-abou!* or *Crom-*

abou! savored of "Scythian barbarism." The clan-names of O and MAC, recalling or perpetuating as they did the clan-organization with its patriarchal customs, were suppressed by act of parliament. They went further, even in these good old Catholic times,—as if to show how little the sweet charities of the Christian religion influenced the savage legislation and heathen State-policy of the English Government. They devised a scheme for "anglifying" the entire hierarchy of Ireland with the Priesthood, and the great monastic communities which were the schools or nurseries of the clergy both secular and regular. It was sought to prevent Religious Communities from admitting to the noviciate any persons who were not English descent. And ecclesiastical superiors were forbidden to hold out any hope of preferment to priests of Irish blood. Thus the entire body of those who were the teachers and guides of the Irish people were to be either of the race or the tongue so deservedly hateful to the nation.

This odious policy was sought to be enforced in every household in the land: the family names were to disappear, and Irishmen, instead of calling themselves O and MAC, like their forefathers, were enjoined to select the name of some town, or trade, or color, or office. Thus originated among us, the innumerable tribes of the SMITHS, TAYLORS, CARPENTERS, BREWERS, BAKERS, CARTERS, COOKES, COOPERS; of the BLACKS, BROWNES, GRAYS, GREENES and WHITES; of the JUDGES, CLARKES, SARGENTS, MARSHALLS, STEWARTS, PREVOSTS,—and the long catalogues of family-names ending in TON, VILLE, FORD, HAM, &c.

Of course, Irish obstinacy, perversity, or by whatever term you choose to designate their invincible attachment to their own national past, to their race, language, and ancestral institutions and customs, —resisted all legislation, all attempts at coercion or persuasion. Shall we not give to this sentiment of undying attachment to the Celtic traditions its true name, and call it SELF-RESPECT?

"The demarcation between English and Irish," says Mr. Thomas Arnold,* "which the civil government thus did its utmost to maintain, was partially introduced, and with the most unhappy results, into the administration of Church affairs. In the counties of the Pale it was scarcely possible for an ecclesiastic of Irish race to obtain preferment. The invasion by the Scots under Edward Bruce in 1315, though ultimately defeated, caused great confusion, and called forth during its continuance many tokens of sympathy from the Irish clergy. This, says Mr. Malone, was made a pretext for 'throwing off the mask,' and under color of disloyalty Irishmen were excluded from all the higher dignities and benefices. Yet it would appear that this exclusion could not have extended much beyond the Pale; for if we examine the lists of bishops occupying the Irish sees in 1350, we find that out of thirty-three names eighteen are certainly Irish, thirteen English, while two may be doubtful. All through this period of confusion and disunion a strong religious feeling was abroad, animating the men of both races alike, and directing them to common objects. In the 13th century we hear of one hundred and seventy monasteries being founded; about fifty-five in the 14th; and about sixty in the 15th. Two unsuccessful attempts were made to found universities: one at Dublin (1320) by Archbishop Bicknor; the other at Drogheda, by the Parliament which sat there in 1465."*

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* "Catholic Dictionary," Art. *Irish Church.*

In 1475 Pope Sixtus IV. by a solemn bull authorized the establishment of a university in Dublin. But as all these educational enterprises were directed by the prime-movers therein toward not only denationalizing an entire ancient race, but extinguishing the race itself,—we cannot wonder that they utterly failed of their purpose, and that the universities were never founded.

Nor do we regret it at this day. Catholics, Irish Catholics in particular, should be thankful that the twofold antagonism of race and language stood as an effectual barrier against the projects of the "anglifiers," first, and, afterward, against the spread of the reformed doctrines. It is a mercy,—both in respect of the national future now dawning on Ireland, and in respect of the perils threatening Revealed

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* Thomas Arnold, A.M., art. *Irish Church*, in "Cath. Dict."

Religion in England as well as on the Continent,—that the native Irish youth should not have been drawn, in the last half of the 15th century, into such hostile and proselytizing schools as the proposed universities. Their clergy would have none of them; and they were well inspired. Had the Irish Clergy become 'anglified,' and the whole of our episcopal sees been filled by men of English lineage, or, still worse, by Irishmen of English culture and ambitious to justify their training; had our monastic and cathedral schools seconded the proposed universities in their work of anglification,—the whole Island must, without a miracle, have followed England and Scotland in their revolt against the Holy See. As it is, the Irish race preferred to lose everything, to suffer everything, rather than give up their own hopes of an independent nationality together with their devotion to the Centre of Catholicity.

We are thankful that it is so. But we must now examine at how fearful a cost the existence of the Irish race and the preservation of the faith of St. Patrick were secured.

PART THIRD.

THE PERIOD OF PLANTATION AND EXTERMINATION.

I.

The Land Question under the Tudors.

1. *Henry VII. (1485–1509).*

HENRY VII. ascended the throne in 1485. The *English land,* or the *English Pale* in Ireland was confined to the territory included within the Boyne and the Liffey. "Dykes and forts were built round its borders for the protection of the inhabitants. The seacoast towns were isolated; and the great Earls of Desmond and Ormonde received licenses to absent themselves from the Parliament at Dublin by reason of the danger and difficulty of passing through the Irish enemy's country. The native Irish had recovered the greater portion of the island; exacting tribute from the few English settlers who remained, and demanding and receiving 'black rent' from the surviving English counties."

In this emergency a frantic effort was made to enforce all the restrictive legislation against the native Irish enacted since the Statute of Kilkenny. The Celts were simply outlawed once more, and treated as such inside and outside every town and stronghold where English might prevailed. But, in spite of the energetic efforts made to drive back the rising Celtic wave, it overspread even the Pale.

The O'Neill received annually a tribute of £20 from the barony of Lecale, and £40 from the county of Louth. "O'Connor of Offaly received £60 from the county of Meath, and £20 from the county of Kildare; Mac Murrough of Leinster received 80 marks from the Crown. Even the walled towns, which had hitherto maintained their independence, now purchased protection by the payment of an annual cess. . . . The Lord Deputy was within measurable distance of being driven into the sea." *

How repress this phenomenal vitality of the Celt? So far fire and sword have availed but little to extirpate the race, or to extinguish that indomitable courage, which rises superior to defeat, disaster, and seeming destruction. The vigorous Anglo-Norman offshoots planted on Irish soil, should, one would think, act on the native population, as do the gigantic and fast-growing parasites of the Tropics on the trees of sturdiest growth, inevitably strangle them in their embrace, and draw all vitality out of them. In Ireland, on the contrary, both the parasite and the native oak seemed to grow healthily together, and to become at length identified as one tree, defying the passing storm and the waste of time.

This close union,—or what appeared to be a close union,—of both races, and the fact that they were fast rooted in the soil, were the very things which aroused all the evil passions of the Officials in Dublin, and fed, as well, the anti-Irish feeling in England. In the latter country it was the national determination that Ireland must belong to England, and to become wholly English, it must be peopled by Englishmen. In Dublin, where "land-hunger" was the living soul of the Government, the anti-Irish passion had never meant anything else but "the rooting out the Irish" and the planting the land with an English population.

"England," says Mr. Walpole, "distracted with foreign wars and evil strife, had for two hundred years allowed the Irish question to drift. She was now about to take matters seriously in hand, and to carry out a stern policy of repression and extermination, not only against the Celtic race, but against the Anglo-Irish also. Henceforth

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* "The Kingdom of Ireland," pp. 68, 69.

we shall find but little distinction made between the natives and the old colonists—if any, it was in favor of the former—and a disposition to make a fresh conquest and a fresh settlement, and to subordinate the old blood to the new. 'The English by birth' were to be the children of promise; 'the English by descent' were to be the sons of Ishmael." *

Henry VII. had a long head, and took effective means to help forward this policy of "extermination," as our latest historian rightly calls it. He began by so modifying the constitution of the Irish Parliament, as to make it only a passive instrument in the hands of his Officials in Ireland; and then he prepared to lay the axe to the roots of the tree by weakening and destroying the great Irish Chieftains of both English and Celtic blood.

In 1494, Sir Edward Poynings arrived in Dublin as Lord Deputy, accompanied by a formidable body of English lawyers, and by one thousand men at arms.

The Statute of Kilkenny was forthwith reënacted, omitting only the clause about the use of the Irish language, which it had been found impossible to enforce. The owners of 'marsh,' or border, lands were enjoined to reside on their estates: to permit the "Irish Enemy" (native Celts) or the "Irish rebels" (native English) to pass the borders, was made felony, for which the marsh lords were punishable. No citizen of any town could enter the service of a lord without forfeiting his citizenship. None but lawful apprentices could be admitted to the freedom of the towns. This was a terrible blow aimed at the power of the great nobles.

The English Lawyers next took in hand the Irish Parliament. Henceforth it must be made a docile tool of English state policy. "It was provided that all statutes which had up to that date been passed by the English legislature, should thenceforward be binding and effectual in Ireland; that no Parliament should in future be summoned in Ireland till the lord-deputy had first obtained the

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* "The Kingdom of Ireland," p. 73.

king's license for its being held, and had submitted to the king and the privy-council the heads of all bills which it was proposed should be brought in; and that the consent of the king and the council to such bills should be obtained before they could be proceeded with. Thus, in effect, making all legislation to come cut and dried from the Crown, to be merely *pro forma* registered by the Irish Houses of Parliament." *

This is known in Irish history as "Poynings' Act." But Poynings had a purpose for his one thousand men-at-arms, as he had for his brigade of lawyers. He compelled both the Geraldines and the Butlers to march with him into Ulster to give a lesson to the Septs of O'Hanlon and Mac Gennis. Meanwhile some evil genius, an imp from the Castle, most probably, had persuaded another of the Geraldines, a brother of the Earl of Kildare, to seize the Castle of Carlow, and unfurl the flag of York. It was just what the Deputy wanted. He turned back from the north and crushed this abortive attempt at rebellion,—for which the Earl of Kildare was to be held further accountable.

But although attainted for high treason in the Parliament held at Drogheda by Poynings, and sent to England as a traitor, Kildare won the good opinion of Henry VII. All Ireland, he was told, could not govern the Earl of Kildare. "Well," replied Henry, "then shall Kildare govern all Ireland"; and the Earl was sent back as Lord Deputy.

He served Henry's policy well. He enforced English law and established the power of the Crown in every part of Ireland, save Tyrone, where his nephew, Turlough O'Neill, still reigned over his sturdy Celts. He reorganized the borough-towns, garrisoned those that were fortified, built strongholds to protect the Pale or to overawe the Irish in the remote districts; broke down the power of the Earl of Desmond, unconscious in so doing of preparing the way for the destruction of his own house; and summoned Turlough O'Neill and his Celts to join the royal forces in a campaign into Connaught against the Earl of Clanrickarde, and O'Brien of Thomonde; gained a great victory at Knoctow near Galway, and gave a blow to the power of the native Chieftains from which they never wholly recovered.

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* "The Kingdom of Ireland," p. 78.

They had formed two hostile leagues: Kildare placed the sword of England at the service of one of them, and turned the fortune of war against the other.

They had not known, or had not seemed to know the hour when, by uniting and striking together, they could easily have driven the English Lord Deputy—and his Officials with him—into the sea. Now the Lord Deputies, working successively and perseveringly on one line of policy, will drive into the sea or out of existence whole generations of Irishmen.

2. *Henry VIII. (1509–1547).*

We should mislead the reader, if we were to allow him to believe that Cardinal Wolsey, so powerful during the first half of this reign, in any way favored toward Celtic Ireland a policy of peace and conciliation tending to elevate and develop the elements of Christian life among the people. It is, rather, to the credit of Henry himself that he did in reality entertain, at first, a sincere desire to win the Irish by a kindly government, bind them to England by solid and substantial benefits, and thus prepare them to adopt by degrees the language and literature, the manners and customs of their English neighbors, together with the laws and institutions of England. "Two distinct courses were the constant subject of discussion between the king and the Irish government. The latter warmly advocated a policy of extermination and plantation. The Irish were to be driven from their lands; the chiefs deposed; the cattle, their principal source of wealth and subsistence, driven off or slaughtered; and the whole native population decimated by starvation. The land was then to be granted out to English freeholders, who should pay a head rent to the Crown. Henry shrank from the expense, if not from the brutality of such a course. His plan was coercion and conciliation." *

To all who wish to look into the currents of deep thought then moving men's minds, and to the drift of social currents, as well,—it is of no small interest to pause a moment here, and examine how clearly the mighty events and changes about to occur in the Christendom of the sixteenth century, were foreshadowed in the documents laid before Cardinal Wolsey, his royal master, and the members of their Privy Council.

We are in the year 1515. In the English State Paper Office is still preserved a manuscript Report on the condition of Ireland, drawn up, most likely, by order of Wolsey, and submitted to the Privy Council in that year. In spite of the energetic administration of the Earl of Kildare, the English Pale did not extend far beyond the very narrow limits assigned to it above,—that is, beyond the counties of Uriel or Louth, Meath, Dublin, Kildare, and Wexford. Even within this very limited space, 'the great mass of the population . . . consisted of native Irish, the English having everywhere deserted their lands on account of the exactions and oppressions to which they were exposed.' In that portion of the island exclusively under the rule of the ancient Celtic chieftains, there were some sixty different districts belonging to the native clans or Septs, and governed solely in accordance with the Brehon Law. The author of the Report enumerates all the great families who still held sway over these patriarchal communities, and assigns to each its proper dwelling place.

Among the English folk outside of the Pale, who live absolutely like their Irish neighbors and acknowledge only the Brehon Law, are thirty 'Great Captains' or Lords. "All the English folk of the said counties be of Irish habit, of Irish language, and of Irish conditions, except the cities and the walled towns. Also, all the English folk of the said counties, for the most part, would be right glad to obey the King's laws, if they might be defended by the King from the Irish

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* "The Kingdom of Ireland," pp. 81, 82.

Enemies. And because the King defends them not, and the King's Deputy is not able to defend them, therefore they are all turned from the obedience of the King's laws, and live by the sword after the manner of the Irish Enemies." The picture he draws of the masses in the districts nominally under English rule, but ravaged alternately by their own Lords and the hostile native Chieftains, is dismal enough. "What common people," he says, "in all this world is so poor, so feeble, so evil beseen in town and field, so greatly oppressed and trodden under foot?"

The remedies suggested in this Report would seem to be taken from 'the Book of Pandarus,' a famous work denouncing Feudalism and Aristocracy, advocating the cause of the Commons or laboring and industrial classes, and urging the King to befriend them, to promote their interests, and to make of them the supporters of the Throne as against the feudal nobles. In Ireland, according to Pandarus, the masses were oppressed and plundered and unable to protect themselves against the aristocracy. "To raise the King's power in Ireland, it was necessary to raise and encourage the commons, and to repress the aristocracy. The former were to be made to feel that they were under the immediate protection of the King, and they were to be armed and disciplined under responsible officers, the Deputy to be assisted by an army sufficient to enable him to enforce the King's authority."

This proposal contains the germ of the entire military system to be established in Ireland. One sees that there is a consistency in the various English plans of reconquest and subjugation, *rooting out the Irish,* and planting Ireland with English colonists, from 1515 to 1884. Whether put in execution by Mountjoy and Carew, by James I. and Sir John Davies, by Wentworth or Cromwell, by Ireton and Coote, or by Orange William, or by each successive British Minister, Lord Lieutenant, or Chief Secretary, down to Gladstone, Spencer, and Trevelyan,—it amounts to the same: get rid of the Irish; they have no rights we need respect on their native soil; and get English colonists, and in default of English and Scotch, turn the country into pasture-land, and let sheep and cattle take the place of the "Irish Enemy."

The sword, according to Pandarus and the Report in the State Paper Office, is to be the sole successful regulator in Ireland. Neither the Privy Council nor the men sent to investigate matters in Ireland and to report on them, seem to think for a moment that the Native Irish have any right to oppose to these projects of conquest and extermination. They proceed on the assumption that the King of England has a right as indisputable to possess himself of the land and to exterminate, if need be, the people, as if Ireland were an uninhabited island near the Pole, or as if the lives of its people were of no more account than those of the wild fowl or the beasts of prey.

The whole scheme detailed at length, and, probably, discussed by Wolsey and his fellow-councillors, is entitled a plan of 'reformation.' The name is ominous. Those in authority in Ireland, are "to ordain and procure that every village and town within six miles of the wild Irish, be ditched and hedged strongly about the gates. . . . If the King were as wise as Solomon the Sage, he shall never subdue the wild Irish to his obedience, without dread of the sword and of the might and strength of his power, and of his English subjects, ordered as aforesaid." This 'ordering' of the English in Ireland consists in drilling the male population everywhere, in reviving the use of Archery, in familiarizing the military with the use of muskets and artillery; in one word, the entire population of the Pale and of the counties under English rule must be made the garrison of a vast fortified camp in a country partially conquered and to be wholly subjugated. "If this land were once furnished in order as aforesaid, who durst be so bold within the realm of England to rebel against the King, as the noble folk of that land have done right oft? And if the King fortune hereafter to be at such distress, which God avoid, where might he be received for sure, and succoured so mighty and so strong, as with his subjects of Ireland? . . . This also the Pandar saith, that if this land were put once in order as aforesaid, it would be none other than a very paradise, delicious of all pleasaunce, in respect and regard of any other land in this world, inasmuch as there never was stranger nor alien person, great and small, that would leave it willingly, notwithstanding the said misorder, if he had the means to dwell therein honestly; much greater would be his desire if the land were once put in order." *

It is, unhappily, too true that the everlasting bane of Ireland—intestine strife and warfare not only among the Septs themselves but among the great Anglo-Irish nobles, who were equally hateful to the English,—furnished, in 1515, and all through the reign of Henry VIII., an opportunity to English Statesmen to carry out these plans of conquest and military plantations. The English were always sure to find ready and willing allies in some of the Irish Chieftains in every war they chose to undertake. Thus, in 1535, we find Donogh O'Brien, the heir to The O'Brien, the great Irish Chieftain of Limerick, and the descendant of her kings,—making war on his own father, identifying himself with the Butler family at the very time their chief was forsaking the old faith for the reform of Henry VIII., and devoting all his energies to forwarding the English cause in Ireland. He demanded from the Lord Deputy, Leonard Gray, a troop of one hundred English horse with their commander to make war on his father and uncle. He wishes to possess himself of a country and stronghold near the Shannon, "which never was none Englishman's this two hundred years. I will desire of the King no help," he says, "but this English Captain to go with me upon my father and mine uncle, the which are the King's enemies, and upon the Irishmen that never Englishman was amongst. . . . And for all the land that I shall conquer, it shall be the King's pleasure to set Englishmen in it, to be holden of the King as his pleasure shall be; and I to refuse all such Irish fashions, and to order myself after the English laws, and all that I can make or conquer." †

We have anticipated the order of time and the logical succession of events, in mentioning Lord Leonard Gray and his "exterminating" expeditions.

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* Wright, "History of Ireland," Vol. I., book iii., c. 1, pp. 276–78. † *Ibidem.*

Henry pursued, whenever he could turn aside from Continental politics, his own twofold policy of coercion, first, and then, conciliation, toward Celtic Ireland. He began by playing off the great house of Butler against that of Kildare. The Butlers had never identified themselves with the native Irish to the extent to which the Fitz Geralds,—those of Desmond in particular,—had gone. It was Henry's game to exalt the Butlers while humiliating, and, if possible, destroying the Geraldines. Kildare was (1519), therefore, summoned to England, and (1520) the Earl of Surrey, a connection of the Butlers, was sent over as Lord Deputy. After thus feeling his way, Henry appointed (1521) Sir Piers Butler, the head of the family, to Surrey's place. Wolsey, who detested the Fitz Geralds, and had laid his own plan to bring about their ruin, allowed the magnificent Irish nobleman to shine and flutter about Henry's splendid and gay court. Kildare was even allowed to form a matrimonial connection with Royalty itself by marrying the Lady Elizabeth Gray. He was even encouraged to accompany Henry to the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," where he shone next to the King. Then he was sent back once more to Ireland as Lord Deputy. During this interval of three years, the Earl of Desmond had been impelled, by what evil counselor we need not say, to enter into correspondence with Francis I., who wanted to create a rebellion in Ireland, and to assume somewhat the airs of an independent and sovereign prince. If a plot had been laid skilfully by Wolsey to secure the ruin of the Geraldines, and if he had been seconded therein by the Dublin officials, events could not have conspired more happily for his purpose.

Kildare returned to Ireland in 1522, and was placed at the head of the government in 1524, just when all was ripe for Wolsey's design. The Lord Deputy was ordered to arrest Desmond; and having failed to do so, laid himself open to the charge of abetting treason. Besides, all through the administration of Sir Piers Butler, Earl of Ormonde, the O'Neills and their confederates had waged incessant warfare with the O'Donnells. And when, in 1524, Kildare was sworn into office at Dublin, it was his kinsman, Con O'Neill, who bore the Sword of State before him. All these circumstances and many more were reported to Wolsey by the Butlers, and by Wolsey to the King. In 1526 Kildare was summoned to London and lodged in the Tower. Released on the responsibility of the Duke of Norfolk, he is detained in London while the question of Henry's divorce agitates the whole Kingdom. Meanwhile the Lord Deputy Delvin is taken prisoner by O'Connor of Offaly, and Desmond once more enters into a treasonable correspondence with the Emperor Charles V. That very year (1529) beheld Wolsey's fall from power. Strange to say, it was Wolsey who counseled the King to send Kildare back to Ireland to quell the disorders there, because he judged Sir Piers Butler unequal to the task of doing so. Henry, however, who had not taken from Kildare his title of Lord Deputy, was content with leaving him this empty title.

Such was the state of affairs when Desmond's treason and O'Connor's revolt made Kildare odious to the King. In June 1529 Sir William Skeffington was appointed Lord Deputy, and went to Ireland accompanied by Kildare as his adviser. They worked together for some time, in spite of the bitter feud which would break forth between the Geraldines and the Butlers. But the fall of Wolsey,—the deadly foe of Kildare, raised the hopes of the latter, and made him intrigue at court for the removal of Skeffington and his own restoration to power. He succeeded. In 1532 Henry consented to his becoming again Lord Deputy, much as he distrusted him and all his house.

The Irish Privy Council, in which Archbishop Allen, a creature of the fallen Wolsey, was all powerful, viewed the restoration of Kildare with anything but favor. Toward the end of 1533, Sir John Allen, the Master of the Rolls and also Clerk of the Privy Council, was sent to London with secret instructions to make serious charges against the Lord Deputy.

A private report to Mr. Secretary Cromwell, who had succeeded to Wolsey in the royal favor, purported to be on the state of Ireland.

It was a skilful arraignment of Kildare's administration. Private letters,—a force well known in the Castle strategy,—poured in upon Cromwell, all supporting the charges made by Allen and the Privy Council. The King was told, in the report of the latter, that the land "was brought to such ruin, that neither the English order, tongue, or habit was used, or the King's laws obeyed, above twenty miles in compass." As to the cause of all this mischief, it arose, the Council affirmed, from "the committing of the government of this land to the lords who are natives of the same, and the frequent change of deputies." The remedies suggested are almost identical with those mentioned in the Book of Pandarus. The private and lengthy report to Cromwell mentions names, enters into details, arrays facts and anecdotes in so skilful a manner that they could not fail to impress a mind like the King's or the Secretary's with the conviction that Kildare was aiming at making himself independent of all royal control in Ireland.

Kildare, as was evidently foreseen by the Officials in Dublin, was summoned to London and committed a close prisoner to the Tower. Before leaving Ireland, however, he was unwise enough to appoint his young son, the Lord Thomas Fitz Gerald (called "Silken Thomas," on account of his gaudy dress), as Vice-Deputy.

Here comes in one of those detestable agencies in such favor both with the English Government and with its representatives in Ireland,—forged letters dropped conveniently, and destined to hurry rash men into the commission of desperate deeds, or to furnish some shadowy ground for a charge of rebellion or conspiracy.

Forged letters* were sent to Dublin purporting to convey the information that the Earl of Kildare had been beheaded as a traitor.

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* "The enemies, therefore, having wellnigh knedded the dough that should have been baked for the Geraldines' bane, devised that secret rumors should sprinkle to and fro, that the Earle of Kildare his execution was intended in England, and that upon his death the Lord Thomas and all his bloud should have been apprehended in Ireland. . . . This false muttering . . . was holpen forward by Thomas Canon and others of Skeffington his servants, who sticked not to write to certeine of their friends, as it were verie secret letters how that the Earle of Kildare . . . was alreadie cut shorter," &c.—*Holinshed's Chronicle.*

The son, thereupon, flies into open rebellion, and all Ireland is in a flame.

This was what the Government wanted. The tidings of this unhappy outbreak so preyed upon Kildare, that he died of grief. The new Lord Deputy, Sir William Skeffington, arrives, bringing with him new military weapons, a train of artillery, and troops armed with hand-guns. All resistance goes down before such a force. The Lord Thomas surrendered and was sent a prisoner to the Tower of London. Five of his uncles, three of whom had been openly opposed to the rebellion, were entrapped by Skeffington into accepting an invitation to a banquet. They were seized at the table and sent to join their nephew in London, where, in 1537, all five were hanged at Tyburn.

It were foreign to our purpose to bring in here the change of religion, which was happening at this very moment. Outside of the Government officials, and the usual swarm of English fortune-hunters, to whom the King's favor was the breath of life,—there were found in all Ireland few indeed to accept the new doctrines. Still, and looking only to the influence which the great Anglo-Irish families had on subsequent events, we must remark here, that it was in 1534, while the Lord Deputy Kildare was a close prisoner in the Tower of London, and Skeffington's 'friends' in England and the Castle Officials in Dublin were laboring so successfully to drive the Geraldines into open rebellion,—the Earl of Ossory* had gone to London to secure the ruin of Kildare and his family, and to become the 'King's man.' . . .

Then did the head of the house of Butler renounce his allegiance to Rome and to the ancient faith, and contract with the King that momentous alliance, which was to be fraught with such evil consequences to Ireland,—to Irish Catholics, especially. Kildare had left Drogheda for London, in answer to the King's summons in February,

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* He had given up his title of Earl of Ormonde to the head of the house of Boleyn, and taken that of Ossory.

1534. In the May following occurred an event which we leave it to the historian Wright to narrate.

"The Butlers were the first great Anglo-Irish family that carried their devotion to the King so far as to give their zealous support to the new order of things in the Church. In the May of 1534, the King made a grant to the Earl of Ossory of the government of Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford, Ossory, and Ormonde, and the Earl entered into a written indenture promising certain services to the Crown, in the conclusion of which there was a special agreement that, 'considering that it is manifest and notorious that the provisions and usurped jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome hath been, and continually is, the most and principal cause of the desolation, division, ruin, and decay of the said land of Ireland, by the abominable abuse whereof the cathedral churches, churches in monasteries, parish churches, and all other, regular and secular, for the more part, in effect, through the land, be in utter ruin and destroyed; for the said Bishop of Rome commonly hath preferred, by his provisions, to the administration and government of them, not only vile and vicious persons, unlearned, being murderers, thieves, and of other detestable disposition, as light men of war, who for their unjust maintenance therein, some time to expel the rightful incumbent, and other seasons, by force of secular power, to put the true patrons from their patronage, and other their misorders,—have not only spent, wasted, and alienated such lands as the King, his noble progenitors, and his nobles, gave to the augmentation of God's divine service, in the churches of that land, the exhibition and maintenance of the ministers of the same, and the utensils and ornaments there, but also by occasion of the same great wars hath been stirred amongst the King's people, and countries burnt, bishops and divers other persons, spiritual and temporal, murdered, and many other detestable things have ensued thereby, which would abhor any good Christian man to hear, to the high displeasure of God, the violation of his laws, the derogation of the King's jurisdiction and regality, and the great detriment of his nobles and people; and the King's highness, like a most virtuous and most Christian prince, minding and desiring above all things the repression and extincting of any abuse and enormity which in any wise may be contrary to the laws of God, or be occasion to his people to fall from charity or Christian manners, hath willed his said Deputy to resist with all his power the abuse and usurped jurisdiction of the said Bishop of Rome in the premises; according to which his Grace's pleasure, the said Earl of Ossory hath promised to his Highness, and by these presents bindeth himself, that he and his son, and every of them and their heirs, shall not only by themselves resist with all their possible powers, everywhere under their rules, the said provisions and the Bishop of Rome's usurped jurisdiction; maintaining also and assisting the King's Deputy and all his officers for repressing thereof, according to the statutes thereupon provided, but also shall practice with all others, and induce them as much as they possibly may to do likewise.'

"This is the earliest notice we have," the historian continues, "of an attempt to introduce the church reformation, which had been effected in England, into Ireland. . . A few days after the date of the Earl of Ossory's indenture just quoted, the rebellion of Silken Thomas broke out. . . Even at this moment the question of religion was not put forward prominently by the insurgents; although their leaders found a justification in the plea which had so often been set up by the English themselves on former occasions, that the Pope was the temporal lord of the Island, that the English monarchs derived their right of sovereignty from him, and that, since the King of England had turned heretic, he (the pope) could transfer it to another; and they now applied to him for encouragement and assistance." *

The modern world has heard of "Historical Falsehoods," invented to justify or excuse some great wrong done to a whole body of men, or to a whole nation. Some of them have been very successful, and their being so seems to very many a sufficient apology for the man who first set forth the lie, and for those who propagated and perpetuated it.

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* "Hist. of Ireland," vol. i., pp. 345, 346.

No man who knows the facts of Irish history in the first half of the 16th century, or who has made himself acquainted with the motives which influenced Henry VIII. in rejecting the papal jurisdiction and authority, but will smile, when he reads here, that "the principal cause of the desolation, division, ruin, and decay of the land of Ireland," was either the use or the abuse of the papal power to appoint to or provide for vacant episcopal sees and ecclesiastical benefices. Thomas Wright, who quotes at length this lying indenture, is so carried away by anti-Irish and anti-Catholic prejudice, as either not to perceive the utter falseness of this statement, or not to have courage to nail the patent lie. The account he gives, up to chapter viii., of the reign of Henry in Ireland, is made up chiefly of civil wars and insurrections,—growing out of feuds between the great Irish lords themselves, between them and the English of the Pale, or between the great Anglo-Irish families. There are, again and again, plans and schemes of "reformation" proposed and detailed. But in these no mention is made of the acts of the Papal Power, or the vices of churchmen, or the immorality of the native races, as among the crying evils which demanded the strong hand of the reformer. Certainly, no allusion is made to the disposition of beneficed livings, or the overshadowing influence of the Church of Rome, as being the primal or principal source from which sprang all the social ills and political disorder prevalent in Ireland.

Henry knew better than to believe his own falsehood. The 'ruin and desolation' of which he complained existed when he wrote, in his youth, his defence of Catholic doctrines and practices against Martin Luther; when he penned his famous dedicatory epistle at the beginning of the book to the Sovereign Pontiff, and expressed such veneration for the papal office, such devotion to the See of Peter. The title bestowed on him in return of 'Defender of the Faith,' was worn by him as his proudest guerdon, and still, by some strange fatality, which might be deemed a providential Nemesis, is continued to be worn by his successors on the English throne.

What intrigues, besides the moral force employed by Thomas

Cromwell on the Lord Deputy Kildare in 1533–34, impelled the latter to outward acts that might appear to be disobedience, if not constructive treason? What part had the religious convictions of the Geraldines and of the other great Anglo-Irish nobles in the double tragedy which cast the Earl into the Tower of London, urged his spirited young son, the Lord Thomas Fitz Gerald (the Silken Thomas of the English Chroniclers), to raise the standard of rebellion, and finally brought himself and his uncles to the gallows at Tyburn.

Henry the Eighth's reforming zeal in Ireland,—in spite of the quasi-manifesto contained in the indenture of the Earl of Ossory, was not so great as to make him spend men and money in forcing his Irish subjects to take the oath of supremacy. Theology was only a feeble stimulant to Henry's action in Ireland, as compared with his desire to *anglicize* the island. The Protestant doctrines in the Dublin Privy Council, and the reformed ministers who aided Archbishop Browne in his proselytizing labors, furnished a cloak for the worldly ambition and the appetite for broad Irish acres, which entered so largely into the motives of "reformers" on both sides of the Channel.

But, it must be confessed, it was good strategy on the part of Henry to exalt the House of Butler over the ruin of that of Fitz Gerald; and by binding the former to the cause of the Reformation to use it as a mighty instrument in propagating the new Gospel in Ireland, while beating down in succession the Geraldines, and all the great Catholic nobles both Anglo-Irish and Celts.

The name of Butler is to be henceforward one intimately connected with the disasters and persecutions both of the Irish Race and of their religion.

The new legislation about Henry's supremacy in spiritual matters, was, however, destined to help him very effectively toward breaking up the entire Brehon or Celtic System in Ireland. Carrying into Ireland the plan, so successfully executed in England, of confiscating to the Crown all church property of every kind, movable and unmovable, Henry held in his hand the most tempting bribes to be offered to the nobles who should elect to follow the example of the Earl of Ossory.

The offer of Church lands and edifices with their revenues, on the one hand, and, on the other, the bestowing on the Irish Chiefs of titles of nobility and peerages, and of the grant of the tribal lands in fee simple to be held from the King in perpetuity, and independently of their subject Septs,—this was a prospect of emolument, security, and splendid rank which few apparently could resist.

Let us see how this campaign of corruption succeeded in Ireland, ending with the confiscation of vast tracts of land, taken unrighteously from THE PEOPLE, the only lawful possessors, and acknowledged as such. It is most important here, in order to establish on firm historical grounds the Case of the Irish People under its twofold aspect,—of their Rights of Property violated, and their Rights of Conscience ignored, that we should base every position we take upon the testimony of our adversaries.

"Henry," says Mr. Walpole, "having carried his point in England, proceeded to do the same in the sister isle. The only opposition likely to be met with was from the clergy, who smelt heresy afar off. But the mass of the Irish people, both natives and colonists, had hardly so much as heard of Lutheranism. The English lords and Irish chiefs looked on the King's usurpation of the headship of the church as a matter of complete indifference, only concerning himself and the Pope; and never having had themselves the smallest scruple in burning and plundering churches, cathedrals, and monasteries, were ready enough to see the church lands appropriated when there was a prospect of having a share in the spoil." *

The sacrileges and horrors committed against ecclesiastical edifices and persons during the incessant wars of province against province and Sept against Sept, justify, unhappily, the first part of this last statement; the other part is justified by the conduct of the great Irish nobles, as we shall see presently.

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* "Kingdom of Ireland," 89, 90.

But was there, in Ireland, any solid ground for reforming even, not to say dissolving, the monastic institutions, and thereby affording a pretext for seizing on their property and revenues? Here is the peremptory answer:

"There was considerably less ground for dissolving the religious houses in Ireland than those in England. The charge of immoral and sumptuous living was not even attempted. It was true that, as in England, they were corporations holding large tracts of land in mortmain;* but, in the hideous condition of turbulence and poverty in which society in Ireland then groaned, the religious houses, like those on the continent in the middle ages, were as lamps in the darkness, and as rivers in a thirsty land. Though frequently plundered by all contending parties, they held together the fragments of learning and enlightenment, which would otherwise have died out. They, to some extent, occupied the position of universities and schools, being the only places where any education could be obtained. They served as inns and hostelries, where any who traveled from place to place could obtain accommodation, and frequently provided the Lord Deputy himself with food, forage, and lodging. Like the houses in England, they dispensed charity to the needy, and, unlike the houses in England, themselves served the ruined parish churches instead of absorbing the revenue and appointing a vicar on a pittance to do the work. These pleas, however, were not considered by Henry. He had abolished the abbeys and the priories, the monasteries and the nunneries, in England, and he would do the same in Ireland. Besides, *he wanted their property for purposes of his own.*" †

A few pages further on the same author tells us that "The bulk of the land surveyed in Henry's reign was granted either for a real or a nominal price to the Englishmen composing the King's council in

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* As we remarked in speaking of land tenure under the Brehon Law, Church and Monastery lands were not absolutely alienated; the *altum dominium* belonged to the Sept.

† "The Kingdom of Ireland," p. 89–91.

Dublin, the corporate towns, and some of the Irish and Anglo-Irish chiefs; the principal recipients being the judges, the lords of the Pale, and a few officers of the army."*

Upward of 400 houses with their landed property were thus swept away into the King's power. Of the struggle in the Irish Parliament, when the Bill of Supremacy and the Acts connected with the religious innovations were brought in, we need not make lengthened mention. The Lords in the upper house and the Gentlemen in the lower were not a little interested in letting matters proceed smoothly. The Clergy were not to be bought over by bribes or promises, nor to be awed by any threats which the King or his subordinates might make. The representatives of the Clergy in the Commons were at length excluded from all "voice and suffrage"; and so the Act of Supremacy became the law of the land, and all appeals to Rome were forbidden under the penalties of high treason.

Thus, besides the sequestration of ecclesiastical property, wide doors were opened by these Acts toward constructive treason, forfeiture of estates, and wholesale confiscation. Such were the terrible shadows which coming events were casting on men's minds and hearts in that doomed land of Erin.

Lord Deputy Leonard Gray, who imposed these measures on the Irish Parliament, was a kinsman of Henry VIII., and, like his master, one whose will knew no obstacles toward its purpose. He came to Ireland in 1535, and carried fire and sword among the O'Connors of Offaly, as well as into the territory of the O'Briens, and into the domains of Desmond and the Barrys. Connaught next felt the weight of Leonard Gray's arm, and the hardness of his heart of steel; and, finally, O'Neill, in the north, was overawed by the Lord Deputy's energy and unvaried success, while O'Donnell was encouraged to lay waste the territories of his rival and neighbor.

What plans the English entertained at this time with regard to the extirpation of the Irish, and how the wars of Leonard Gray were carried on, and how it was recommended to his successors and subordinates to wage war with the Irish,—it will be worth our while to see. All through these fearful details, so coolly drawn up and calmly considered by an English Privy Council,—one idea predominates: that all means to wrest the soil of Ireland from the Irish are to be made use of; and that Ireland must, at all costs, be colonized by Englishmen.

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* "Kingdom of Ireland," p. 92.

In a lengthy memoir prepared for the King and his councillors, and preserved in the State Paper Office, suggestions, most probably inspired by the Butlers and Lord Leonard Gray, if not drawn up by them,—are given on the best method of securing and enlarging the Pale. O'Connor of Offaly was to be reduced. Wicklow was to be strongly fortified and well garrisoned. It was, the memior said, absolutely necessary "to inhabit the same with a fourscore English freeholders, and the residue to be of the English Pale, and that every of the same eighty have a hundred acres of the lande next about the town, paying for every acre yearly to the King two pence, which shall be a good living for them, profitable for the King, and surety for all the country." In like manner the most favorable strategic positions throughout the borders of Leinster should be occupied and peopled. "Then shall all Leinster be clear English without any of the Irishry among them." A thousand well armed men were to occupy Ulster simultaneously, "walling and inhabiting" the northern part of the island in its length and breadth, Carlingford, Ardglass, Armagh, Carrickfergus, Sligo, and other towns,—establishing purely English settlements in the neighboring districts. Athlone, under Lord Delvin and his son, with six hundred men-at-arms, was to become a great central English stronghold, which should overawe and reduce the surrounding Septs. Another thousand men should concentrate in Limerick, to be joined their by Lord Ossory and his forces. The two Thomonds were then to be overrun, and planted with similar garrisons and colonies. After which Connaught was to be attacked, the Burkes of Clanrickard, who "bear hatred to the Irishry," being counted on as powerful allies. All the "Englishry" in Munster were to combine, meanwhile, and assail the Mac Carthys and other Celtic Chiefs. Cromwell was urged so to bestir himself in this matter, that "these devices be begun this next March (1537) and so to be throughout continued all that next year following; and then the King's Highness, with certain of his council, to come the next somer thereafter, with no great power, and to establish for ever continual laudable order, according to the laws of God, and of this realm." *

"The cruel manner in which this war was to be carried on, is described in a paper supplementary to the one just mentioned—the only excuse for it is (says Wright), that it is a system which the English had partly learned from the Irish themselves, who were certainly, according to this plan, to be treated on the footing of Savages." †

Now, dear Reader, weigh attentively each sentence in the following extract from this supplementary paper:

"The very living of the Irishry doth clearly consist in two things; and take away the same from them, and they are past for ever to recover, or yet to annoy any subject in Ireland. Take first from them their corn, and as much as cannot be husbanded and had into the hands of such as shall dwell and inhabit in their lands and country, to burn and destroy the same, so as the Irishry shall not live thereupon; then to have their cattle and beasts, which should be most hardest to come by, for they shall be in the woods, and yet with guides and policy, they be oft had and taken in Ireland at this day. And again, by the reason that the several armies, as I devised in my other paper, should proceed at once, it is not possible for the said Irishry to put or flee their cattle from one country into another, but that one of the armies, with their guides and assistors, by hap, policy, espial, or some other mean, shall come thereby; and admitting the impossibility, so that their cattle were saved, yet, in continuance of one year, the same cattle shall be dead, destroyed, stolen, strayed, and eaten; for by reason of the continual removing of them, going from one wood to another, as they shall be forced to do, their lying

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* Quoted by Wright, vol. i., pp. 321, 322.

† *Ibidem.*

out all the winter, and narrow pastures, they shall be stolen, lost, strayed, and dead, and, almost all of them, when all the great number of the Irishry, so being in exile, being together, with their tenants and followers, taking their corn and other victual, shall have no manner of sustenance, but only the residue of the same cattle,—if there shall be any,—whereby their said cattle must in short time be consumed; and then they shall be without corn, victuals, or cattle, and thereof shall ensue the putting in effect of all these wars against them." *

This means simply one thing, EXTERMINATION. What the sword will have failed to reach, that starvation shall surely overtake. We seem to be already in the days of Elizabeth, and to see her Chief Secretary for Ireland, Edmund Spenser, writing for her instruction his "View of Ireland," in 1598, and within the walls of Dublin Castle: we hear him describing for the Mountjoys, the Carews, the Chichesters, the fearful desolation of Munster, and amid the wasted, corpse-strewn fields the famine-stricken fugitives creeping forth on hands and feet, prowling among the dead for some kind of food.

Spenser wrote, not for the purpose of moving English Lord Deputies, or Lord Justices, or brave English soldiers in Ireland, to commiseration by the spectacle of what inhuman warfare can bring a whole province to; but for the express purpose of encouraging all such officials so to deal with the other provinces, in order to accomplish thoroughly the work of England in the Sister Isle,—EXTERMINATION.

We shall see, hereafter, how Cromwell,—another of this ill-omened name,—will take up the sword of Leonard Gray, and carry out to the letter not only the suggestions presented in these two papers, but those of Chief Secretary Spenser.

The fate of the five Geraldines hung in one day at Tyburn, and the terrible hostings of Lord Leonard Gray, taught the Irish that the Tudor Rule differed essentially from that of any preceding line of

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* Quoted by Wright, vol. i., pp. 321, 322.

English Sovereigns. The high-handed measures employed in the Parliament of 1537 to get rid of the Popish recusants and to sanction the sequestration of Church property, as well as—what was far more repugnant to the national heart—the suppression of the religious communities, spoke plainly enough, and meant, that the King's will was the supreme law.

Now, will the Irish Chieftains,—not the representatives, mark well—for the Septs are not constituencies,—but the freely chosen rulers and guides of the tribal communities,—will they accept the bribe which Henry VIII. is about to offer them? Will they abjure their dependence on their people, to be dependent on the royal will? Will they barter away the most sacred, the most cherished, the most inviolable rights of their BRETHREN for feudal rank and title, and an entailed estate?

Let us see.

We are in 1540. A Parliament is sitting in Dublin. "There was seen a sight which had never been witnessed in Ireland before: the English lords and the Irish chiefs sitting beside each other in a national assembly. The Earl of Ormond with McGillapatrick of Upper Ossory; the Earl of Desmond, and the Lords Barry, Roche, and Fitzmaurice, with the Tanist of Thomond; the barons of the Pale with O'Moore, O'Reilly, and McMurrough; Lord Bermingham of Atheury, and McWilliam Bourke. The Speaker's address concerning the business of the session was translated into Irish by Ormonde. The Act of Supremacy was accepted and confirmed; and a bill was passed conferring on Henry and his heirs the title of King, instead of Lord, of Ireland. The chiefs flung down their girdles, skeins, and caps in acknowledgment of Henry as their liege lord. Dublin was *en fête:* bonfires were lit, guns fired, wine flowed in the street; all prisoners, except those detained on capital charges, were set at liberty; and a general pardon was published by the King throughout all his dominions." *

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* "Kingdom of Ireland," p. 94.

We should be glad to believe that this narrative is so highly colored that its substantial truth might well be questioned. The facts are taken from Wright's History of Ireland. All the liturgic forms had as yet undergone no alteration, so that the Irish members of Parliament, who rode in procession to St. Patrick's, where Archbishop Browne celebrated Pontifical High Mass, may have been easily deceived into the belief that no change was contemplated in their religion. The substitution of the King for the Pope as supreme head of the Church in his own realm, was looked upon, probably, as a mere political or feudal change.

Be that as it may, many of these Irish lords and chieftains lived to look back on that day with shame and grief. Henry, thanks to the energy of Lord Leonard Gray, had achieved in Ireland a success that no English sovereign before him could boast of. And yet, a fortnight before the meeting of this Parliament, Leonard Gray had been beheaded as a traitor, for his conduct in Ireland. He had fallen a victim to the enmity of the Dublin Privy Council.

Such was Henry VIII.

The two great northern Chiefs, O'Neill and O'Donnell, had not appeared in this Parliament. The Lord Deputy, Sir Anthony Sentleger, lost no time in enforcing and obtaining their submission. One after the other, all the great lords, Anglo-Irish and Celts, were bullied, coaxed, or bribed to make their submission to the King, to acknowledge themselves his vassals, accept in return a title and a peerage, with their lands in fee simple, and ample grants of church property to bind them to the new order of things.

It was a strange and humiliating spectacle.

First, there was a division of the spoils of the Church, and, next, a division of the spoils of the People. In 1538 twenty-four abbeys and priories were surrendered to the Crown, or, rather, forcibly taken possession of. These were within the Pale. In the Irish districts the religious communities had continued to subsist and do their work among the people. But with the submission of the Irish Chieftains these communities came within the law of suppression, and were handed over, as a general rule, to the Chief of each Sept or district as a reward for his accepting the King's supremacy.

In Thomond, the O'Brien's country, this great Chief, now created Earl of Thomond and Baron Inchiquin, had a gift of all religious houses, except those belonging to the bishops. The Tanist of Thomond, Sir Donough O'Brien, petitioned hard for "some name of honor," and that he might hold his own lands in fee simple. To him was given the great abbey of Clare with the title of Baron Ibrackan, and the earldom of Thomond after the death of his uncle. Mac Gillapatrick was created Baron of Upper Ossory, and was made proprietor of the monasteries of Aghadoe and Aghmacarte. Mac William Bourke was made Earl of Clanrickard, and gratified with the ownership of many a broad church-land in Galway. Mac Murrough became Baron of Ballyan; O'Connor Baron of Offaly, O'Donnell Earl of Tyrconnell, Con O'Neill Earl of Tyrone, and his illegitimate son Baron of Dungannon.

In Ireland gold and silver money had hitherto been very scarce; and, sooth to say, the people had but little felt the need of it. The new nobles were now given large sums of money from the royal treasury, and to the highest even among them suitable apparel for wearing in Parliament or appearing at Court. And to each a house in Dublin was made over, as a residence during the sessions of the legislature. Men's heads, like those of children on a birthday, were turned by all this novelty, and unusual splendor.

In August, 1542, O'Neill went in person to London to solicit from the King the title of Earl of Ulster. He had, however, to content himself with that of Tyrone. His example was followed by all the other great Irish Chieftains, who presented themselves to the King, and preferred their respective claims.

"A paper is still preserved in the State Paper Office containing an abstract of the requests which these Irish chiefs came to present to the throne, which was drawn up as a memorial for the King previous to their presentation. They all desired a grant from the Crown of their lands and jurisdictions, by English tenure, and a general pardon for all past offences."[*]

All entered into formal indentures with the King. The great lords promised to send their sons to be educated at the English court. The inferior chiefs bound themselves to pay a head-rent for their cattle, and to assist the Lord Deputy in his "hostings." The King was to protect them from invasion, allowing them to rule their own subjects according to customary law.

"The principal inducement, however, to the greater chieftains to accept the King's suzerainty, was the alteration in the tenure of the land. *Henry insisted on the old fraud practised by the Plantagenets of recognising the feudal laws as the laws of the country, and shutting his eyes to the Irish system of tenure.* The chief surrendered his territory to the King, and the King regranted it to him to hold of the Crown by knight's service. The King was benefited by obtaining a recognition of his sovereign rights, and the invaluable leverage of the law of forfeiture for treason incident to the English tenure. The chief was benefited by getting a grant to himself and his heirs of the land, which never was his, which belonged to his tribe, and of which he was only the demesne lord for life by virtue of the will of the tribesmen. *The arrangement was colourable and collusive, and in effect confiscated every acre in the island.* Though the practical effect was not at first apparent, the foundation was laid for a huge future injustice."[†]

Thus did the Irish Chieftains prove faithless to their trust. They had given away, unauthorized, the sacred and inalienable patrimony of the Irish people. Each of the new Peers or Knights had bargained with the King for a matter over which neither contracting party had a shadow of right.

The Earl of Thomond and his nephew, Baron Ibrackan, and the Earl of Clanrickard, had been solemnly invested in London, by the King in person, with the insignia of their new dignity. Meanwhile, the Irish people, who only saw in all these pompous displays both in Dublin and in London, a something which seemed like cringing to the Sassmach, began to be deeply dissatisfied, to murmur, and to agitate. On their return from England the new Nobles found their tribesmen in revolt. This was more especially the case in Ulster, where Con O'Neill's sons headed the clansmen, and refused to acknowledge the Earl of Tyrone or the Baron of Dungannon. It was the same with the sons of O'Donnell. They and their people would have none of these innovations.

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[*] Wright, "Hist. of Ireland," vol. i., p. 365.

[†] "Kingdom of Ireland," p. 97.

And so Lord Deputy Sentleger had to march an army into the revolted provinces and to support the new injustice against the ancient right.

Thus, in the reign of the Eighth Henry, did the Irish Chiefs themselves conspire with the King to confiscate the land of Ireland. But to this confiscation, unrighteous and unlawful as it was, the People of Ireland, the Tribesmen of every district, the sole lawful proprietors of the land, not only never gave their consent, but made all the resistance in their power.

Perhaps it was providential that the change in religion came in at this very period, to prevent the immediate consummation of this great iniquity, and to place a new and formidable barrier to the fusion of the two races. It is our conviction, that had Henry remained true to the Pope and saved his throne and his kingdom from Protestantism, Ireland must have become subject to English rule and law within one or two generations.

The Reformation, coming to the help of English hatred of the Irish, has kept them a distinct race.

3. *Edward VI. (1547); Mary (1553-58).*

THE SYSTEM OF "EXTERMINATION" INAUGURATED.

"Henry VIII., had, in spite of the Irish counsel, carried out his plan of conciliating the Irish by 'sober ways, politic drifts, and amiable persuasions of law and reason,' and the fruits of his system promised well for the future. Upon his death the contrary counsels prevailed: *it was believed to be better to drive the Irish than to lead them.* The timorous counsels of the Dublin oligarchy could look for safety only in harsh and cruel measures, and little by little a course was entered upon of EXTERMINATION and PLANTATION, which was pursued for two centuries, and which, when combined with the policy of forcing a novel form of faith upon a reluctant people, has imbued the Irish nation with a hatred of the English government, which bids fair to be ineffaceable for generations to come."*

So speaks a liberal Englishman in our own days.

As hinted in the foregoing passage, this policy of exterminating the native Septs, and replacing them by English settlers, was the policy of the Castle Officials. In the Privy Council the Protestant Archbishops played a predominant part; and to the "land-hunger" which had ever been there the moving force, was now superadded religious intolerance. The Irish must be "rooted out" not merely because they are Irish, but because they are "Papists." For now this odious term takes its place in the English language, and expresses the two fiercest passions of the human breast combined, the hatred of religion and the hatred of race.

The first theatre chosen for the crucial experiment of "rooting out" and "planting," was that large territory embraced within the limits of what are now the King's and Queen's Counties. This was the native home of the Septs of O'Moore, O'Connor, O'Dempsey, O'Dunn, O'Molloy, and O'Carroll.

When the lords of the Privy Council wanted an insurrection as a preliminary to, and a pretext for, a war of extermination, they were too well skilled in the matter to have to wait long for a fitting opportunity. O'Connor and O'Moore, taking part in a feud between the neighboring Geraldines and the English of the Pale, took up the cause of the former, invaded Kildare, burned the town of Athy, and slaughtered many of the inhabitants. Here was the opportunity.

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* "The Kingdom of Ireland," p. 112.

Sir Edward Bellingham was forthwith summoned by Sentleger to join him with his forces, and they overran together the districts of Offaly and Leix, driving the insurgents into Connaught. Then came into operation the law of forfeiture. Both of the insurgent chiefs had signed their indenture to the King. They were by Privy Council proclaimed traitors, outlawed, themselves and their people persecuted with fire and sword, and all their lands declared forfeited to the Crown. The Dublin Officials never cared to abide by the slow forms of the law courts. They waited for no investigation, no trial by jury, no calm decision from the bench of justice. They were themselves lawmakers, judges, jury, and executioners. They struck instead of deliberating, and they struck with no merciful hand.

In Leix and Offaly "the Irish landholders were dispossessed and driven from their homes, sometimes, as it is said, with circumstances of great cruelty, and strong garrisons were placed . . . to keep these countries, which were now added to the English Pale, in subjection." *

This is a very mild statement. Mr. Walpole gives it more truthfully: "Resistance," he says, "there was none; O'Connor and O'Moore were captured, and sent over as prisoners to England; the strongholds of Daugen and Campa were taken; the tribes were thrust from their homes and dispersed, their cattle driven off, and their land laid waste. The rightful owners of the soil having been ejected, the next step was to repeople it with English colonists. This was accomplished, and a revenue to the Crown of £500 per annum secured by the granting of leases of twenty-one years in the confiscated lands to various English colonists: notably to Sir Francis Bryan, who had married the Dowager Countess of Ormonde, and to other families who came over from England—the Barringtons, the Crosbies, the Breretons, and the Hovendens, the Harpools, the Deavils, the Grahams, the Pigotts, and the Bowens.

"For nine years a guerilla warfare was kept up between the dis-

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* Wright, "Hist. of Ireland," vol. i., p. 373.

possessed tribesmen and the settlers, of a most fierce and bloody character, which ended in the almost total expulsion of the latter. Again the Government stepped in, and this time proceeded to do its work more thoroughly. The natives were either shot down in the field, or executed by martial law, and the remnant driven into the neighboring bogs and mountains, where for a few years longer they preyed upon and spoiled the settlers, and in their turn were hunted as brigands and put to death as outlaws. The confiscated territories were converted into 'shireland,' the greater part of Offaly, Fercal, and Ely, being denominated King's County, . . . while Leix, and a portion of Offaly, and the Barony of Upper Ossory became Queen's County. . . . The reinstated settlers (English all) were called upon to adhere to the English language and habits, to subscribe to the English laws, and to abjure Irish marriages and fosterage." *

We may appreciate this sole benefit bestowed on Ireland by the united liberality of the Catholic Sovereigns Mary and Philip, when we read of the power bestowed on the Lord Deputy, the Duke of Sussex, for disposing of the lands of Leix and Offaly: "full power and authority during the time he shall be Lord Deputy there, to give and to grant to all and every their Majesties' subjects, English or Irish, born within this realm, or within the realm of England, at his election and pleasure, *such several estates in fee simple, fee tail, leases for term of years, life or lives, of all and every the lordships, manors, castles, patronages of benefices, lands, tenements, and all other hereditaments temporal with their appurtenances, parcel of any of the said countries of right appertaining or belonging, as for the more sure planting or strength of the countries with good subjects shall be thought unto his wisdom and discretion meet and convenient.*" †

Thus did these two dispose of the territory out of which they had exterminated the Catholic Irish, their co-religionists and subjects, with a ruthless ferocity worthy of Iroquois savages. What right could Irish Papists have to live or breathe in their native land?

But before we see Elizabeth pursuing toward these Irish the same abominable policy inaugurated by her sister Mary, let us pause a moment, and hear a contemporary writer describe that magnificent race, who were thought unworthy of having a foothold within the land of their fathers.

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* "Kingdom of Ireland."

† "Irish Statutes," i. p. 240.

We quote from no less a personage than the Lord Deputy, Sir Anthony Sentleger himself. He had been consulted by Henry VIII. as to the class of Irish soldiers he should send to his army in France. Beginning with the horsemen, Sentleger says:

"In case your Majesty will use their service into France, your Highness must then be at some charges with them. For there is no horseman of this land but he hath his horse and his two boys and two hackneys, or one hackney and two chief horses, at the least, whose wages must be accordingly: and of themselves they have no riches to furnish the same. *And assuredly I think for their feats of war, which is for light scourers, there are no properer horsemen in Christian ground, nor more hardy, nor yet that can better endure hardness. . . .*

"As to their footmen, they have one sort, which be harnessed in mail and bassinets, having every of them his weapon, called a *sparre*, much like the axe of the Tower, and they be named *Galloglasses;* and for the more part their boys bear for them three darts apiece, which darts they throw before they come to the hand strife. *These sort of men be those that do not lightly abandon the field, and bear the brunt to the death.*

"The other sort, called Kerne, are naked (*i.e.* unarmed) men, except only their shirts and small coats; and many times when they come to the bicker (fight), but barenaked, saving their shirts for decency; and these have darts and short bowes; which sort of people be both hardy and deliver (quick) to search woods and marshes, in which they be hard to be beaten. And if your Majesty will convert them to morespikes and hand-guns, I think they would, in that feat, with small instructions, do your Highness great service; for, *as for gunners, there be no better in no land than they be, for the number they have. . . .*

"And also these two sorts of people be of such hardness, that *there is no men that ever I saw, that will or can endure the pains and evil fare that they will sustain;* for in the summer, when corn is near ripe, they seek no other meat in time of need, but to storke or swyll (scorch or stew) the ears of wheat, and eat the same, and water to their drink; and with this they pass their lives; and at all times they eat such meat as few others could live with." *

"The greater part of the thousand Kernes raised for the King's service, appear (says Wright) to have been carried into France, where they were actively employed in the siege of Boulogne in the September of 1544. There they are said to have astonished everybody by their ferocity (?) as well as by their bravery, until, if we believe (*and why should we not?*) the story told by Stamhurst, the French sent a messenger to the English monarch to inquire whether they were men or devils whom he had brought against them." *

The civilized world needs not to be told at the close, almost, of the nineteenth century, what are the soldierly qualities of this old Celtic race. But, ere we see these glorious materials for a great nation cast aside by the hand of English statesmanship, and subjected to a process aiming at grinding them into the mud of the street, it is but right that we should examine more closely than ever the qualities of a people, who, *for centuries,* are to be treated on their own native soil, as if they were incurable savages, creatures fallen away from the attributes of humanity, without the intelligence, the sentiment, the mind, the heart, or the will susceptible of culture, refinement, or the benefits of civilization.

And here it is that their enemies should bear witness once more to the very qualities denied them—in practice, at least—by Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, by the Stuarts, the Commonwealth, and their successors.

"We are not to wonder," says Leland, "that a people accustomed to the refinements found in their own laws, should be pronounced of all others the greatest lovers of justice."

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* "Hist. of Ireland," i., p. 368.

† *Ibidem.*

Never was it so needful to affirm in favor of the people of Ireland, that one of their chief characteristics is a love of justice, than at the present day, when secular injustice and the accumulated wrongs of centuries beget in the Irish peasant a fierce resentment that oversteps or overturns all barriers. Legislative injustice, continued through ages, inspires men with a hatred of the law and its ministers; the perversion of proprietary right, which persists in setting property above and before life, denying practically to the ancient race born on the soil the right and liberty to live on it, to find a shelter on it, or to draw from it the means of subsistence,—has challenged the attention and provoked the verdict of the civilized world. . . But who and what is the people thus condemned to starve amid the inheritance of their fathers?

Let English jurists and judges answer. "They (the native Irish) would gladly continue in that condition (i. e., of subjects to the British Crown) as long as they might be protected and justly governed, without oppression on the one hand, or impunity on the other: for there is no nation of people under the sun that doth love equal and indifferent (impartial) justice better than the Irish, or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it be against themselves, so that they may have the protection and benefit of the law, when upon just cause they do desire it." *

Such is the testimony of Sir John Davies. It is the simple truth, re-echoed by a Lord Chief Justice of England in words which deserve never to be forgotten. "Of the Kingdom of Ireland I have been informed by many that have had judicial places there, and partly of my own knowledge, *that there is no nation in the Christian world that are greater lovers of justice, ... than they are, which virtue must be accompanied by many others."* †

How does the national character of the Irish race, at the beginning of the last quarter of the 19th century, agree with that which history has transmitted of the half-warlike, half-pastoral, and learning-loving Celts of 1200 years ago?

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* "Historical Tracts," p. 123, Dublin, 1787.

† Cole's "Institutes," vol. iv., p. 76.

Twelve hundred years are a long period in the world's history, for moulding and remoulding a people, for changing every aspect of their national life; for diverting their every aim and energy into new channels; for totally modifying laws, manners, virtues, and institutions; for bringing into language itself new words and terms expressive of new ideas and sentiments, so that the speech of to-day may be strangely and utterly in dissonance with that used by the men and women of a thousand years before.

And, it is simply stating a familiar historical fact to say, that of the 1200 years just mentioned, 1000 were to the Irish race a period of such terrible and uninterrupted trial, as no nation, no people known to history ever had to endure. How have the Irish come out of it?

As these words are being written the Irish people, recovering from the last famine of 1880, are struggling resolutely to wrest from the British Parliament such legislation as will free both tenant and farm-laborer from the constant fear of cruel eviction and starvation on this land of their forefathers. Hitherto land-law has been supreme over life. The struggle is still on most points of the Irish soil, to prevent life from being ruthlessly sacrificed to law; to give to the occupiers and cultivators of the soil not only the right to live on its produce, but that of claiming as their own the liberty to improve their holdings, the right to own such improvements, and the security against sudden and arbitrary eviction. Of such evictions, executed with circumstances of incomprehensible cruelty, many, too many are taking place every week, every day. In one instance, 300 persons are put out on the road, and there left shelterless, to starve, to perish in the rain and cold. Is it wonderful that, following fast on such high-handed acts of authority, of inhumanity rather, we hear of "agrarian outrages," of agents or landlords murdered or shot at?

When, in a Christian country, the fundamental laws of justice and Christian policy have been perverted by a dominant and alien class, and only administered for the destruction and oppression of the ancient native race,—would it not be wonderful if outraged human nature, driven continually to the wall, did not turn on the wrong-doer and oppressor, and, in sheer self-defence, take life for life? When law and the administration of justice have been made for centuries the instruments of the most odious passions and prejudices of race, caste, and religion, it would be strange indeed if the down-trodden should look with any other feeling than that of fiercest hatred on the law and the men who execute it, and on the law-making and land-holding class, in whose favor it is enforced?

No! the fearful acts of retaliation we have heard of all through these years, do not detract from the national love of justice which pre-eminently distinguished the Irish people even in the dreadful age of Elizabeth. The keener the sense of justice and right in a warm-hearted, generous, and quick-witted race, the more intolerable becomes to them the feeling of the deepest wrong,—especially when the wrong-doer in his might avows his determination to perpetuate the evil.

Nor do these extremities of violence detract from the natural gentleness which belongs to the Irish temperament,—any more than the cries, the imprecations, the contortions of the meekest of men subjected to protracted torture.

Of the secret associations which sprang up in succession all over the Island, opposing red-handed violence to the exterminating policy of the landed proprietors, and seeking, too often by murder, to force the Government and the Courts of Justice to acknowledge the right of the tenant and the farm-laborer to subsist on their native soil,—only one word need be said at present. They were the natural and legitimate offspring of a state of things enduring for centuries, and in which Might alone was Right. Irishmen were treated as if they had no rights in Ireland: when the crisis of this monstrous system of injustice came, and both tenant-farmers and farm-laborers beheld the roofs which had sheltered themselves, their children, and their forefathers torn down and the walls leveled to the earth, they were driven by despair to create a mysterious and dreadful Power, that could withstand the Might of the wrongdoer and oppressor.

These organizations should be considered as the lawful offspring of wrong perpetuated and reaching its very extremity, rather than as the natural manifestation of the oppressed people's disposition or temper.

We can, therefore, continue our study of the admirable national character of the Irish People, convinced that these clouds, which seemingly darken its brightness, no more touch its substantial reality than the shadows in our atmosphere reach the orb of the sun.

The writer of these lines, after fifty-three years spent outside of Ireland, in almost continual contact with men of Irish birth or parentage, as pastor and teacher, has, surely, had some knowledge of both the qualities and the defects of his exiled countrymen. Returning to Ireland with this acquired experience, he has sought to compare and complete this knowledge of their character with what attentive study reveals of Irish life at home, in every class of society. What has been the result of these observations?

In the cities and back-wood settlements of Canada, as well as on every point of the great neighboring Republic, visited by him, his professional duties have afforded him the best opportunities of seeing Irish human nature without veil or mask; and he has had no reason to blush for the race from which he is sprung. He has labored, in 1847–48, among the famine and fever-stricken multitudes sent from Ireland to perish at Grosse-Isle and along both shores of the St. Lawrence, and, with the dead around him and death threatening himself as it had stricken down so many of his brother-priests, he declares now, as he solemnly declared then and since: That the virtues which shone forth in these victims of British misrule in Ireland, were such as are recorded of no other people since the birth of Christendom.

More than that, and searching his own memory for the names of peoples, before the Christian Era, distinguished for great fortitude under a succession of unmerited and crushing calamities, he can recall no race mentioned in all history whom Fortune has pursued so pitilessly, so persistently, and whose soul, like pure gold tried by the quenchless flame, has only come forth from the ordeal brighter and more pure. The fierce fury of anti-national hate and religious bigotry, like the mighty forces of electro-magnetism concentrated to destroy, fuse, vaporize the pure gold itself, seemed to have triumphed at length, and annihilated these detested Irish. But if the golden jewel presented at one pole, did indeed disappear from the eye, the gold itself was found in one solid mass at the other pole. Not one particle had been lost; nothing had perished but the baser metals mixed with the gold by the hand of the jeweler, and the accidental form given to the precious material. This, still further separated from all dross, was now ready to receive a new and diviner form from the Supreme of Artists.

How often, in my missionary excursions, have I not come upon these infant Irish settlements amid the primeval forests, in which even the most laborious had been only able to build themselves and their families log cabins, surrounded by a few acres of cleared and cultivated land. There they would give to the Priest of their Faith a welcome as right royal as if he were a King, and with manners and phrase as courtly as if they were princes every one of them. No queen in her drawing-room could greet her lieges with more ease and dignity and unstudied grace, than these wives of the backwoodsmen of the United States and the Canadas. I have listened to their conversations, when they fancied no ear was listening; and I have been filled with amazement at the refinement of their language, the nobleness of their sentiments, the sagacity of their judgments even on public affairs and political parties; at the brilliant fancy and quick play of wit and humor with which they can enliven any topic of conversation or discussion. These seemed to be the gifts of all, though practiced conspicuously by a leading few. But wit and humor, to provoke repartee and jest, to awaken laughter and general merriment in a large circle, are like latent electricities, which spring into life at the first play of a skilled hand, sparkling and lighting up the darkness, and giving to silence the soul of mirth and enjoyment.

Many a time have I heard persons of other nationalities, even when bitterly prejudiced against the Irish, ask me, after visiting the poor dwellings of these laborers and colonists, Where these people had learned their exquisite phraseology, and found such refined and noble sentiments?

Had I never been able, during my fifty-three years of absence from my native land, to reconcile the contradiction between a hovel and the courtly manners of its occupants, to point out the source from which the Irish peasant or laborer derives his refinement and his wit,—a few months in Ireland, spent in conversing with the poor people themselves, would have removed every doubt from my mind, and given me a triumphant answer for every question asked me.

Americans talk among themselves, laughingly, of what they term the harmless delusion of Irish serving men and women, who would pass themselves off as descendants of Celtic Kings or Princes. There is some ground for the delusion, however. The mass of the Irish agricultural population are indeed descended from the former proprietors and lords of the soil. History has abundant proofs of this. In another part of this book we give authentic details of the violent and unjustifiable spoliation of the native Irish race in favor of all foreigners who would "undertake" to hold the land, and exterminate from it the Irish and Popery.

A century ago this was the purpose of all English legislation and government in Ireland. The force of public opinion has modified the spirit of English Statesmen and Ministers. Has the spirit of the English landlords, to whom the sword of Strongbow, of Henry VIII., of Elizabeth, and Oliver Cromwell gave up Ireland as a mine to work, exhaust, and then abandon, been mollified by the change in public opinion? or been taught to look upon the Irish Papist in any other light than that of a natural enemy to be destroyed, or a Helot to be kept in perpetual bondage and irredeemable inferiority?

Let that man answer, who having spent a year, or even six months in studying the country, its classes, and the various currents of social thought and sentiment, will have made himself competent to give an enlightened judgment on the Irish Question.

You cannot go into the outskirts of a single city, into a town, village, or hamlet, in which you will not meet with families compelled by sheer and dire necessity,—not by any fault of their own,—to live in dwellings unfit to be a dog-kennel. In these squalid abodes the only articles of furniture are often found to be a bedstead, chairs, and table of mahogany, oak, or cherry-wood, of rare design and good workmanship. When questioned, how they have come by these articles, so utterly out of harmony with their other surroundings, these poor creatures will tell you, that these were bridal-gifts expressly made and bestowed on themselves by their deceased parents, or on the latter by their dear fathers and mothers: to these they have clung, while everything else has gone for rent to the landlord, or for the bare necessaries of life to the auctioneer or pawnbroker.

Everywhere, as you travel through town and country, you meet with the evidences of this descent from affluence, or competence, to what seems hopeless poverty. You are ever in presence of a race, who cherish fondly the memory of better days, of a higher social position, of civil spoliation and degradation consummated in hatred of the faith they professed and the race to which they belonged.

In only one province,—that of Connaught,—has a more fearful accumulation of ills, ploughing its way slowly through every class of society, with the irresistible force of the Unterwald Glacier, succeeded in making on the souls of the people, or a large portion of them, deep and degrading impressions. Even in our Western States, our Irish Bishops have observed with pain, that the poor Connaught colonists had contracted certain habits of secretiveness, and untruthfulness. In the free land of America, and surrounded with none but friends, some of these poor settlers reminded one of birds, who having seen their nests again and again destroyed or spoiled by a cruel hand, will no longer build in the open, but seek to make their home and rear their brood in the remotest corner of the wilderness. The conduct of these poor settlers has somewhat of the cunning of certain birds of the partridge tribe. If you come upon the parent while it is still nestling, it will run swiftly before you, or stumble and roll over as if it were wounded and its wing broken, and thus mislead you in pursuit, till far enough away from the nest to warrant its security.

Alas, poor people! What weapons have the long-oppressed, the oft-despoiled and plundered, the defenceless victims of Might without conscience and without pity, than fawning and servility, than deceitful words, dark ways, and manners which make true manhood blush? Blame we not them;—their excuse is easily found in the long and desperate struggle for bare existence. Let us lay the sin and the shame on the only true authors of this degradation of a noble nature; on the unmanly men, the titled landlords of Connaught, who refuse even to the wretched Islanders of Arran, the ownership of the seaweed fished at the base of the precipitous cliffs of their native isles. In every country under the sun, boasting the name of civilized,—save in Ireland alone,—the man who claims to be the owner of the land, will build for the farmer who cultivates it and makes it fruitful, not only a comfortable and durable habitation, but outhouses to garner the grain, to shelter cattle and flocks; he will fence it round to divide it from the neighboring farms, construct drains through it, dig wells to provide man and beast with wholesome water, help and encourage the tiller of the soil to make the barren places fertile, the bountiful fields more bountiful still. He will set a premium on skill and industry and energy which ever works to improve all around it.

But how is it in Connaught? We need only allude here to what astonished Europe and indignant America daily learn through the press of England of incredible stories of wrong brought before the law-courts,—and which, alas, the laws of Ireland are powerless to remedy.

Do we wonder that the Connaught farmer cannot or will not improve? or that when he ventures on a few timid ameliorations in his farmstead or his narrow plot,—he is as anxious to conceal them from the eye of the landlord, as if each additional turnip, or head of cabbage, or bushel of potatoes, were a something obtained by dishonesty, and which must be kept out of sight?

We know that the continuous action of rain and wind will, with the lapse of time, wear away the surface of the hardest granite. I have just seen and examined, within the close of St. Bridget's great Monastery at Kildare, the great mutilated medieval cross which once, doubtless, stood amid the cloister, and around which so many generations reverently knelt while commemorating the mysteries of Redemption. Sacrilegious hands tore it away from its massive base at some distance, broke off the upper extremity of the cross proper with its circular nimbus, and planted it in an obscure corner of the enclosure. Shaft, remnant of cross, and the massive base itself, are honeycombed by the elemental friction. The day will come,—no distant day, let us hope,—when the noble monolith will be replaced in its primitive position, and the crumbling stone encased in some more precious material, and the cross above completed and adorned by the loving hand of Irish art.

And are not some of the features of a nation's character susceptible of being thus modified or even utterly destroyed in the course of time and by the slow but sure action of the elements? How many nations have disappeared in the lapse of centuries? how many others have merged their characteristics in those of a dominant race?

But the national physiognomy of the Irish race is like that gigantic, wonderful, and mysterious creature, whose human countenance towers above the sands of the desert at the foot of the great Egyptian Pyramids. From afar its aspect fascinates the beholder. One only discerns at a near approach the injuries wrought on these majestic features by wind, and rain, and the hand of barbarous man. These are, after all, but trifling. And the pilgrim as he gazes from a distance on these unwearied eyes, keeping watch over the graves and monuments of the mightiest and most ancient of empires, fancies that there is an immortal soul in the chiseled rock, looking into futurity and calling the eternal ages its own.

So is it with the Ireland of the 19th century: she has not changed in her faith, her undying hope, and all those divine charities deposited in her soul by St. Patrick's baptism. All the noble virtues of the old pagan race were purified, elevated, and made indestructible by the grace of the redeeming Blood. The national soul, as the new era of freedom and justice dawns upon Ireland, looks forward with exultation, confident in the promises of a divine mission and a glorious career.

One last testimony from a friend,—the illustrious Bishop of Orleans, whose voice was ever raised to defend all noble causes, will close this defense of the Irish character.

"What shall I say of the Irish race, of its high origin, of its antiquity? . . . . It is evident that the races of the north and of the south mingled here their blood and their different qualities to form a distinct people: expansive ardor and patient tenacity, fertile imagination and unbending courage, truthfulness and constancy, love of solitude and a passion for noble adventures. . . . They have preserved, as we have, that sort of everlasting youth, that generous enthusiasm, which takes such pleasure in the memory of the past, and in the aspirations toward the future, more than in the realities of the present. They have preserved nobility of sentiment; and nobility of sentiment, with piety of heart, is the finest flower of the soul. A people religious and ardent, monastic and warlike, missionary and civilizing;—and, when Faith demanded that mighty testimony of love, a people of martyrs. Never more grand, according to the strong expression of the Sacred Scriptures, than in that long death, or, rather, that life ever verging on death, ever resisting: *Grandis interitu* (EZECHIEL xxii. 6).

4. *Elizabeth.*

Under Mary, whatever she may have done to injure the Irish race in Ireland, and, as we have seen, she did much and left a pernicious precedent to after times; or how powerless soever she may have felt herself to do good,—she deserves at least this praise, so far as Ireland is concerned, that she did not shed there a single drop of blood for conscience' sake.

"There was no persecution on account of the new faith (says Mr. Walpole), for the simple reason that there had been no converts. Those who filled the State offices had easy consciences, and took their religion from the Crown. The great Earl of Ormonde conformed with the rest.

"Elizabeth's first act in Ireland was to reverse all that her sister had done in church matters. . . . She directed a Parliament to be summoned on Jan. 11, 1560, and care was taken that its composition should be of a satisfactory character. . . . This deliberately packed body repealed the Acts of Philip and Mary relating to the Pope's jurisdiction, and passed the Act of Uniformity as it stood on the English statute-book, ordering all persons under pain of fine and imprisonment, to attend church and hear the new liturgy. . . . A new oath of supremacy was also imposed, to be taken by all persons, on pain of forfeiture of office and promotion during life."*

We mention these facts, and quote the passage relating to the "deliberately packed Parliament," the Act of Uniformity, and that imposing the Oath of Supremacy, because all these are henceforward to be made potent and ever-ready instruments of proscription and confiscation.

"Within the English Pale," continues Mr. Walpole, "English ministers, professing the reformed faith and wholly ignorant of the Irish language, were largely intruded, with the consequence that their congregations refused to attend church. It is not surprising that the mass of the people were driven into the arms of the begging friars, who preached the ancient faith in the native tongue upon the bare hillsides, and enjoined an undying hatred of the Anglicizing Church of the Establishment."†

Oh! the weary, blood-stained road that the Irish race have to travel down the long centuries from that memorable year 1560!

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* "Kingdom of Ireland," p. 109.

† *Ibidem*, p. 111.

We pass over an interval of nine years. The chief events in Ireland during that interval, are those connected with the brave and ill-fated Shane O'Neill, for whose life the Queen as well as her Lords Deputies did not blush to lay snares abhorrent to honor and civilization.

It is important to consider that the Irish nation had not sanctioned the submission of Con O'Neill, Shane's father, to Henry VIII.; and still less had they acquiesced in any of the indentures or contracts by which the native chiefs had made over to the Crown the lands of their respective Septs. The sons of the O'Neill, like the sons of The O'Donnell, had rebelled against their parents on the return of these from London, and were sustained enthusiastically in their revolt by the tribesmen.

Shane O'Neill, on his father's death, assumed the title of The O'Neill, and was solemnly inaugurated into the chieftaincy in the accustomed place and with the solemn traditional ceremonies used from time immemorial. This plainly told the English Government that he owed them no allegiance. Then ensued a series of wars in which, had the Irish Septs and their Chiefs given united and hearty support to O'Neill, they might all together have dictated their own terms even to Elizabeth. Let us see what means she employed, when the fortune of arms failed her, to bring her Irish enemy to her feet.

The truth here is of no little moment to the Cause of Ireland. We quote from Sir John Pope Hennessy.

Elizabeth's Complicity in Assassination Plots.

"The manuscripts calendared in our time by the Rolls office terminate a controversy raised by John O'Neill, the great chief of Ulster, three hundred years ago. When Sir Henry Sidney invited him to an interview within the Pale, the answer was that 'he had much affection for Sir Henry, but that the Deputy's predecessor, the Earl of Sussex, had twice attempted to assassinate him. That after such experience his timorous Irish would not trust him any more in English hands.' Up to a recent period historians denounced this as a 'foul libel upon the blunt and honest Sussex.' The national traditions, however, had always supported O'Neill's charges. It was a question of the belief of the long-memoried people on the one side, and the incredulity of ill-informed writers on the other. But now this controversy is at an end. Mr. Froude himself has given the conclusive evidence to the world. In a letter from the Earl of Sussex to Queen Elizabeth, written from Ardbrachan on the 24th of August, 1561, he describes the arrival of two messengers from the camp of the victorious Irish chief, one of whom, named Grey, he proceeded to bribe.

"'I swore him upon the Bible,' writes the Lord Deputy, 'to keep secret that I should say unto him, and assured him, if it were known during the time I had the government there, that besides the breach of his oath it should cost him his life. I used long circumstance in persuading him to serve your Highness, to benefit his country, and to procure assistance of living to him and his for ever by doing of that which he might easily do. He promised to do what I would. In fine I brake with him to kill Shane O'Neill: and bound myself by an oath to see him have a hundred marks of land by the year to him and to his heirs for his reward. He seemed desirous to serve your Highness and to have the land, but fearful to do it, doubting his own escape after with safety, which he confessed and promised to do by any means he might escaping with his life.'

"Having quoted this despatch, Mr. Froude says: 'Elizabeth's answer—if she sent any answer—is not discoverable. It is most sadly certain, however, that Sussex was continued in office.' . . . Two years after this the English troops were again routed. A treaty of peace was accordingly made. 'Indentures were drawn,' says Mr. Froude, 'on the 17th of December, 1563, in which the Ulster sovereignty was transferred to O'Neill in everything but the name; and a treaty—such treaty as it was—required only Elizabeth's signature, when a second dark effort was made to cut the knot of the Irish difficulty. As a first evidence of returning cordiality a present of wine was sent to Shane O'Neill from Dublin. It was consumed at his table, but the poison had been unskilfully prepared. It brought him and half his household to the edge of death, but no one actually died. The guilt could not be fixed on Sussex. The crime was traced to an English resident in Dublin named Smith; and if Sussex had been the instigator, his instrument was too faithful to betray him.' Smith put upon his trial, 'confessed his guilt, took the entire responsibility upon himself, and declared that his object was to rid his country of a dangerous enemy.' He was convicted, BUT GOT OFF WITHOUT PUNISHMENT.

"Mr. Froude thinks the treachery of the Lord Deputy, the conduct of the inquiry, and the anomalous termination of it, would have been incredible had not the original correspondence, in which the facts are not denied, been now before us. Referring to the Queen's answer to John O'Neill's remonstrance against being thus practised upon, Mr. Froude says: 'After the repeated acts of treachery which had been at least meditated towards O'Neill with Elizabeth's knowledge, she was scarcely justified in assuming a tone of innocent anger.'

"Ralegh knew all this. He knew also that Sir Henry Sidney had finally succeeded where Sussex had failed, and that he succeeded by employing a friend and companion of Ralegh. Dr. Taylor describes how the Irish chief proceeded to the camp of the Hebridean Scots. 'But'—he goes on to say—'an emissary of the Government had preceded him. Piers, a British officer, a disgrace to his country and his profession, had undertaken the task of persuading the Scottish chief to murder his unsuspecting guest.' At a given signal, the banqueting-room was filled with soldiers, and all the Irish were slain. O'Neill's head was sent to Dublin, and Piers received a thousand marks from the Government as a reward for the murder.' Hooker tells us that the head was carried to the Lord Deputy 'by Captain Piers, by whose device the stratagem, or rather tragedie, was practised.' Mr. Froude, while admitting that O'Neill and his friends in the banqueting-hall were murdered, says but little of Captain Piers' conduct. 'Four days later,' he tells us, 'Piers hacked the head from the body and carried it on a spear's point through Drogheda to Dublin, where, staked upon a pike, it bleached on the battlements of the

Castle, a symbol to the Irish world of the fate of Celtic heroes.' But Mr. Froude, perhaps, sees that it was a symbol to the Irish world of something else too." *

"This Captain Piers, Captain Ralegh, and Sir William Morgan were subsequently joined in the one commission under which they exercised martial law, or rather martial executions without law, in the county Cork. . . . The Lord Treasurer did not like such work. . . . The year after Ralegh had written from Cork complaining that the Earl of Ormond was not severe enough in Munster, and that what was wanted was the fire and sword of Sir Humphrey Gilbert (his half-brother), who boasted of 'putting man, woman, and child to death.' Lord Burghley wrote to Sir Henry Wallop, the War Treasurer for Ireland, on the 10th of June, 1582, '*that the Flemings had not such cause to rebel against the oppression of the Spaniards as the Irish against the tyranny of England.*'

. . . . "Lord Burghley touched the root of the evil, when he instructed the Treasurer Wallop, that confiscated lands in Ireland were not to be given to persons, but to offices. . . . Lord Burghley's instructions would have enabled some lands to be attached to the office of Governor or Deputy Governor of Cork, but Sir Walter Ralegh would not have got the castles and farms and abbey lands along the shores of the Blackwater. . . .

"Ralegh has been censured for recommending his half-brother's vigorous measures, but in justice to him it should be remembered that his most intimate companions have recorded similar deeds of their own when claiming Irish lands or seeking preferment. . . .

"In stigmatizing such acts, Mr. Froude refers to Sir Peter Carew 'murdering women and children and babies that had scarcely left the breast.' . . . The English nation were shuddering over the atrocities of the Duke of Alva. The children in the nurseries were being inflamed to patriotic rage and madness by tales of Spanish tyranny. Yet Alva's bloody sword never touched the young, the defenceless, or those whose sex even dogs can recognize and respect." *

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* "Ralegh in Ireland," pp. 40–45

These testimonies from unimpeachable witnesses will cast a vivid light on Elizabeth's policy of confiscation, extermination, and plantation in Ireland.

There can be no more terrible arraignment of the conduct of a Christian nation than the simple publication, from her own records, of such damning evidence as is contained in the preceding extracts and in those by which we conclude this demonstration of official assassination reduced to a system. Let us also tear the mask from the faces of men whom we hold up as models, as idols to the admiration of the young, and put them in the pillory.

Sir Walter Raleigh's Apology for Official Assassination and Poisoning.

"The Captains of Elizabeth introduced an infamous system as new to Ireland in the days of Ralegh as the English muskets. In the fifth book of his 'History of the World' Ralegh discusses the difference between 'killing a man in open field with even weapons, and killing by guile.' Writing in the prison of the Tower, he condemns the 'lying in wait for blood privily,' 'as guilfull murder,' yet there seems little doubt that he had previously encouraged, if not practised, the assassination of the Irish landlords and chiefs of his time. He had high official examples to guide him.

"'Practice and subornation,' writes Secretary Fenton to Walsingham, 'is as necessary as force.' Instead of killing the greatest landowner in Munster by what he calls 'the uncertain end of arms,' the Chief Secretary of that day records how he told the Lord President to get some one to undertake that service '*for the hire of a thousand pounds with some further gratification of Desmond's lands.*' The latest biographer of Ralegh, Mr. Edward Edwards, thus deals with his complicity in such transactions:

"'On one other important matter, Ralegh, Carew, and Cecil were at one. In regard to what, in the phrase of their day, were called "practices against rebels," they were as little troubled with scruples of conscience as Sir Humphrey Gilbert, or Sir Henry Sidney, or Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton had been a few years earlier. In plain English, "practices against rebels" meant the deliberate assassination of rebels, or even of persons vehemently suspected of an intention to rebel. Cecil indeed avowed that he had a rooted objection to the killing of a rebel by poison.'

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* "Hist. of England," vol. x., c. 59.

"Mr. Edwards here refers to Cecil's objection to the proposal to get rid of the Earl of Tyrone by poison; but I doubt if it is fair to place him exactly on the same footing in this matter as Ralegh and Carew. The latter certainly thought any means lawful by which the lands of the Irish chiefs could be obtained. Mr. Froude quotes a letter of his, written in 1602 to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, in which he describes how Hugh O'Donnell, who had gone to Spain for assistance, was followed by a hired assassin, who poisoned him in the castle of Simancas. The assassin, Carew writes, 'at his coming in Spain was suspected by O'Donnell, because he embarked at Cork; but afterwards he insinuated his access and O'Donnell is dead. He never told the President in what manner he would kill him; *but did assure him it should be effected.*' In Carew's original letter in the Public Record Office, he says 'O'Donnell is poisoned.' The words 'poisoned,' 'President,' and 'kill,' are in cipher. That Ralegh and Cecil were not entirely of one mind on this subject seems probable from the following letter, written, Mr. Payne Collier thinks, when Ralegh was in Ireland in October 1598:—

"'*To the Right Honorable Sir Robert Cecil, Knight, Principall Secretary to Her Majestie.*

"'Sir,—It can be no disgrace if it weare knowen that the killing of a rebel weare practised; for you see that the lives of anoynted princes are daylye sought, and we have always in Ireland geven head money for the killing of rebels who are evermore proclaymed at a price. So was the Earle of Desmonde and so have all rebels been practised against. Notwithstanding I have written this enclosed to Stafford who only recommended that knave to me upon his credit.

Butt for yoursealf, you are not to be touched in the matter. And for me, I am more sorrye for beinge deceaved than for being declared in the practise.

"'Your Lordship's ever to do you service,

"'W. RALEGH.

"'He hathe nothinge under my hand butt a passport.'"

The knave who got the passport was a paid murderer. Mr. Edwards surmises that the 'beinge deceaved' refers to a case in which Sir George Carew describes how he himself had hired an assassin, to whom he gave 'a pistoll, some munitions, and ten pounds in money,' to kill John Fitz Thomas, the owner of a fine estate, but 'one Coppinger, sometime a footman to Sir Walter Ralegh, who had promised him (the assassin) faythfullye to assist him,' snatched the weapon from his hand as he was about to shoot Fitz Thomas in Arlow Woods, where they were passing with him alone.

We have seen by what agencies Shane O'Neill was got rid of. Of course he was declared a traitor after death; an act of attainder was passed against him; all Tyrone was proclaimed forfeit to the Crown; and the Chiefs who acknowledged Shane as their prince became Elizabeth's vassals. The Irish people did not care for Elizabeth's proclamations. After Shane's death, his Tanish, Terlough Luinagh O'Neill, was inaugurated as The O'Neill.

These brave hearts were not to be cowed by Elizabeth.

Elizabeth's First Plantation.

In 1570 Shane O'Neill's territory was given out to be colonized by English settlers. A portion of Armagh was sold to one Thomas Chaterton and his heirs; the district of Ardes and Clanaboy in Down was granted to an illegitimate son of Sir Thomas Smith, the Queen's Secretary of State. He was to found an English Protestant colony. The colonies were begun; but the O'Neill tribesmen swept them out of existence.

In 1573 appears on the colonization scene no less a personage than Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex. Elizabeth had resolved that her favorite should succeed in his undertaking. She gave him a grant of one half of the county of Antrim, and the barony of Farney in Monaghan. She advanced him a sum of £10,000, a large sum for that period, and especially in the crippled state of her finances. He was given the title of President of Ulster. The territory to be colonized was occupied by the Argyleshire Scots called in by Shane O'Neill, and who had proved his bane. The Queen ordered them to be expelled or exterminated. The enterprise from first to last was a series of fearful tragedies.

Of course the Irish stoutly resisted the intrusion on their lands; nor were the Scots willing to be slaughtered like sheep.

Fair means failing to overcome the opposition of these Celts and their Chiefs, the Earl of Essex had recourse to foul. He had learned a lesson from Sidney and Sussex. He invited Con O'Donnell to attend a conference, treacherously seized his person, and sent him a prisoner to Dublin. O'Neill of Clanaboy was lured, in like manner, to a banquet in Belfast with his wife, brother, and retainers: Essex seized upon them, "and put them all to the sword, *men, women, youths, and maidens, two hundred in number.* He attacked Rathlin Island, the stronghold where the Scots had left their wives and their children, their sick and aged, and after receiving the surrender of its scanty garrison, *massacred them to a man, and hunted out and slew* every living soul, man, woman, and child, who had taken refuge in the caves and fastnesses of the island, in all some six hundred and fifty persons." *

Such were the methods employed to civilize out of existence these incurable Celts!

Before describing Elizabeth's "Plantation of Munster," it will not be out of place to show what had come, in the year 1576, of the labors of the religious "reformers" even in the part of Ireland best ruled by English law. The sequestration of all church property by Henry VIII., the persecution of the ministers and professors of the ancient faith by himself and his son; Elizabeth's still more rigorous measures—the tyrannical enforcement of the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy, as well as of the fierce edicts against all Catholic or "Papist" bishops, priests, and monks,—were an enormous grievance added to all those which made the yoke of England intolerable to the Irish. The historians of Henry's reign tell us with what needless vandalism, and what display of sacrilegious contempt for the national religion, the armies accompanying the Lord Deputies, Leonard Gray and others, despoiled, unroofed, and mined churches and monasteries. Of like performances in the reign of Elizabeth, we have ample details in the State Paper Office.

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* "Kingdom of Ireland," p. 127.

It made the Irish heart very sore to behold such desecration and ruin. And now, up to this same year 1576, what have Elizabeth and her "reformers" given to Ireland in return for the Faith they had been laboring to proscribe, in return for the religious institutions which were the creation of the Irish people's piety, and to which, as the well-tried fidelity of ages proved, they clung with such fond memories?

Let the Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sidney inform us. In a report to Elizabeth he gives his opinion as to the measures required for "the reformation of the island." From the first years of Henry VIII. there has been continually question of *reformation, reformation, reformation.* They have shed torrents of blood to effect it, spent incalculable treasures, wasted and ruined the country: What kind of a reformation have they effected?

Sir Henry Sidney is describing the "Church by Law established in Ireland," her clergy, and institutions.

"The church," he says, "is now so spoiled, as well by the ruin of the temples, as the dissipation and embezzling of the patrimony, and most of all for want of sufficient ministers, as so deformed and overthrown a church there is not, I am sure, in any region where Christ is professed."

In a letter to the Queen he enters at greater length upon the same subject. He is "advertised of the particular state of the church in the bishoprick of Meath (being the best inhabited country of all this realm) by the honest, zealous, and learned bishop of the same, Mr. Hugh Bradye, a godly minister for the gospel, and a good servant to your highness, who went from church to church himself, and found that there are within his diocese two hundred and twenty-four parish churches, of which number one hundred and five are impropriated to sundry possessions now of your highness, and all leased out for years, or in fee-farm to several farmers, and great gain reaped out of them above the rent which your majesty receiveth; no parson or vicar resident upon any of them, and a very simple or sorry curate, for the most part, appointed to serve them, among which number of curates only eighteen were found able to speak English, the rest Irish priests, or rather Irish rogues, having very little Latin, less learning and civility. All here live upon the bare alteragies (as they term them), which, God knoweth, are very small, and were wont to live upon the gain of Masses, Dirges, Shrivings, and such like trumpery, godly abolished by your majesty, no one house standing for any of them to dwell in. In many places the very walls of the churches down, very few chancels covered, windows and doors ruined and spoiled. There are fifty-two parish churches more in the same diocese, which have vicars endued upon them, better served and maintained than the other, yet but badly. There are fifty-two parish churches more, residue of the first number of two hundred and twenty-four, which pertain to divers particular lords, and these, though in better estate than the rest commonly, are yet far from well.

"If this be the estate of the church in the best peopled diocese," —he continues—"and best governed country of your realm (as in truth it is), easy is it for your majesty to conjecture in what case the rest is." *

Was it worth while to ravage and waste this peaceful and fertile land, to oppress and exterminate its people, only to effect "in the best peopled diocese and best governed country" in the Kingdom such a "reformation" as is here described? We request the atten-

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* Sidney's Original Dispatches, MS. Cotton, Titus B. X. in the British Museum.

tion of the reader to the extraordinary amount of parish churches within a single diocese, found by the first "reformers" sent by Henry, without mentioning the monasteries. Were these the creation of an uncivilized race? Were they evidences of the barbarity of the people? And is this the way that one Christian nation helps another to ascend to a higher plane of civilization? to taste the fruits of a diviner form of religious belief?

It is curious, after this description of the condition of the Reformed Religion in Ireland, to read the proposal made by Sidney of the great measure to be taken for maintaining these commencements of a new and higher order of things.

"Let this be a maxim indisputable, that a garrison of three hundred horsemen and seven hundred footmen may be continually kept here, without any great charge to England. This charge now must be reared *by the new rents of the Irishry*, and by an alteration of the old burthen of the English Pale; for though the Irishry be now mollified and malleable, so that you may have of them what reasonably you will ask, but yet never without an army."

And now we come to Elizabeth's Plantations in the South of Ireland.

The extracts given a few pages above show what agencies were at work both in Elizabeth's English Privy Council, and among the Officials in Dublin Castle to prepare the way for an energetic and decisive policy of confiscation and extermination,—so as to leave the land free for English Protestant colonists. This policy alone furnishes a key to the insurrections, conspiracies, correspondence with foreign powers, and the desolating wars that swept over every province of Ireland during the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

The attempts at colonization in Ulster and the atrocities committed there by the Earl of Essex, warned all Ireland that the "Irishry" in every province were to be dealt with as Mary and Philip had dealt with the inhabitants of Leix and Offaly. The certain knowledge—no longer a mere rumor, but a certain knowledge based on the avowed intentions of the Government,—that none but Protestants and English would be tolerated in Ireland, filled the souls of all classes with a spirit of fierce resistance.

English historians of our day wonder at the facility with which the threatened Irish looked beyond the seas for some help which would stand between them and the Extermination which loomed up in the near distance, terrible and inevitable like the Final Doom. They blame the leaders of the Irish People—both Celts and Anglo-Irish—for thus harboring and fostering treasonable plots. What else, after all, was concealed under all the most conciliatory forms of English policy and English rule but the crushing of the religion of the Irish, even when there was not an open and avowed purpose of extirpating the race itself? And,—it surely is plain enough from the authentic evidence daily brought to light from official sources,—whatever moderation the English Privy Council may have felt disposed to show toward Irishmen and their religion, the Dublin Privy Council never wavered, never relented in the determination to make of Ireland West Britain, one in religion, language, and blood with the larger island.

The Kildares and the Desmonds; the Ormondes and the O'Briens; the great Irish Chieftains of South and West and North, were perfectly aware, in the Year of Grace 1575, that such was the fixed policy of Dublin Castle,—and Dublin Castle had always ruled and misgoverned Ireland in spite of English Kings and English Privy Councils.

The plan proposed by Sidney, and first originated by Sussex, of making the "new rents of the Irishry" support all the expenses in Ireland of Church and State, even though Church and State combined to oppose them, was put in operation in this wise. A President was placed at the head of each province with a large military establishment. The soldiers were to live upon the people, while enabling the Lord President to enforce the Uniformity and Supremacy Acts, and to collect from recusants the heavy fines imposed by the law for non-attendance in "church."

"The first experiment was made in Connaught by the appointment of Sir Edward Fitton, a judge of the Queen's Bench in Dublin, to the office of President with a commission to execute martial law. The immediate consequence of this suppression of the ordinary law of the land was a rising of various members of the O'Brien and Bourke families, which he endeavored to put down by a succession of acts of violence; and when he had been all but driven out of the country the Government was compelled to recall him.

"But the scheme which found most favor in the eyes of the Queen and in the eyes of her iron deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, *was the old one of planting the country with English settlers.* England was full of men who aspired to be soldiers of fortune; the discovery of the New World had made them drunk with the spirit of adventure; they looked upon Ireland, as indeed did even the majority of sober Englishmen, as a country ripe for colonization, inhabited by a race who deserved no better treatment than the wild beasts, and whose fat lands were the proper birthright of enterprising but impecunious younger sons.

"But the most serious effort made toward a plantation, and the one attended by the most serious consequences, was the proposal made to colonize Munster by a number of gentlemen from the west of England. There were some twenty-seven volunteers—Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir Wareham St. Leger, Sir Peter Carew, Sir Richard Grenville, Courtmay, Chichester, and others—who offered to relieve the Queen of all expense and trouble in Southern Ireland, in return for the permission to confiscate the counties of Cork, Limerick, and Kerry. The leading spirit in this enterprise was an adventurer of ancient blood but broken fortune, Sir Peter Carew, who laid claims to vast estates in Carlow and Cork, the lands granted to Fitz Stephen in the days of Henry II., which had passed by marriage to Carew's ancestors, but which had been deserted by them two hundred years since, had been reoccupied by the Cavanaghs and the Earl of Desmond, and had passed into the hands of third parties. . . . There were other estates which had, in a similar way, been lost to their Anglo-Saxon owners in consequence of their deserting the country, the claims to which were doubly statute-barred . . .; and these stale claims were brought up as speculations by the enterprising undertakers above referred to. St. Leger and Grenville took possession of a number of farms belonging to Desmond and Mac Carthy More, but were promptly expelled by the owners. Sir Peter Carew surrounded himself with a gang of ruffians, established himself at Leighlin, and seized some lands belonging to Ormonde's brother, Sir Edward Butler. The Butlers fell upon him, and tried to drive him out by force, cruelly wreaking their vengeance upon some miserable Irish who had joined themselves to him; and Carew retaliated by attacking Sir Edward's house and massacring every human being he found there, down to a child of three years old.

"The story of Carew's atrocities spread like wildfire. A suspicion of the secret plans for confiscation ran through the South. A league for self-defence was formed between the Geraldines, the Mac Carthys, and Ormonde's brothers, which was countenanced by Thomond, Clanricarde, and Turlough Linagh (O'Neill). The Archbishop of Cashel was sent to beg for help from Philip II. and the Pope, and the standard of revolt was actually raised by Sir James Fitzmaurice Fitz Gerald, a cousin of the Earl of Desmond. The Earl and his brother, Sir John, had shortly before been seized by Sir Henry Sidney and forwarded to London, where they were lodged in the Tower, in order to compel them to accept an adverse decision on their quarrel with Ormonde, whose steady loyalty to the Tudor family was to be rewarded by a correspondingly steady support. The Government, afraid that even Ormonde might grow disaffected if *the confiscation conspiracy* were authenticated, hastened to disavow all such intentions, loaded him with favors, and persuaded him to detach his brothers from the rebel (?) cause. Sidney then collected a force and marched into Waterford, Tipperary, and Limerick, burning villages, blowing up castles, and hanging their garrisons. He overawed Connaught by occupying Galway and Roscommon; and he established Humphrey Gilbert at Kilmallock to strike terror into the people, which he effectually did by the indiscriminate slaughter of all who came in his way, irrespective of age or sex. Ormonde succeeded in pacifying his brothers, who made their submission and were forgiven, and James Fitzmaurice retired with his followers to lead an outlaw's life in the Kerry mountains." *

Such was the prologue to the Great Tragedy of the Desolation of Munster.

Now, before lifting the curtain on a series of horrors which Christians fancy could only have been committed by the followers of Genghis Khan, we must see if Elizabeth herself really sanctions the diabolical schemes of the Dublin Privy Council. The measures put in practice by Sir Henry Sidney for making the Irish support all the expenses of the army and the government, having caused great discontent, the Gentlemen of the Pale sent three of their number, eminent lawyers, to present a remonstrance to the Queen.

"Four Irish lords," says Wright,† "who happened to be attendant at court, the Earls of Kildare and Ormonde, and Lords Gormanstown and Dunsany, were summoned to attend, and, being required to give their opinion on the allegations of their countrymen, they declared that an assessment had always been customary for the maintenance of the Queen's garrisons and the household of her deputy, but cautiously avoided touching on the point of prerogative, by confining themselves to the necessities and condition of her subjects in Ireland, and humbly pleaded the grievousness of the present imposition, and prayed that it might be moderated. The Queen listened, at least with affected tenderness and compassion to these allegations, and on this occasion she is said to have uttered the exclamation, *Ah! how I fear lest it be objected to us as it was to Tiberius by Babo, concerning the Dalmatian commotions:* 'You, you it is, that are in fault, who have committed your flocks not to shepherds but to wolves.' This compassion, however, if real, was but the weakness of a moment, for she was very easily persuaded by her ministers that the most important principle involved in the question was the maintenance of her prerogative. Under the influence of this consideration, the Irish agents, instead of being allowed to appeal to law and justice, were committed to the Fleet, for their alleged contumacy in opposing the royal authority. The Queen then addressed letters to Sir Henry Sidney and the Irish council, reprimanded them for their oversight in not having immediately committed and punished those who had presumed to deny the legality of their measure. . . . The agents in England were brought a second time before the Privy Council, and, as they appeared equally determined on their resistance, . . . they were removed . . . to the Tower, which implied that their offence was considered to be of a treasonable nature. This new rigor excited a general feeling of alarm and indignation through the Irish Pale."

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* "The Kingdom of Ireland," pp. 128-130.

† "Hist. of Ireland," i. p. 456.

This passage, however, is only quoted here to show that Elizabeth's moments of womanly "weakness," in showing any kind of commiseration for Irish suffering, were rare indeed, and as transitory as a flash of lightning illumining a long dark night. It has been the boast of English writers that Elizabeth never sanctioned wholesale massacre. We beg our readers to peruse the following extract. By giving it we rather anticipate on the exploits of the two gentle poet-friends and companions in arms, Walter Raleigh and Edmund Spenser.

We are in November, 1580. The South of Ireland was up in arms. On the coast of Kerry, at a place called St. Mary Wick or Smerwick, a foreign force come to the aid of the insurgents had occupied a stronghold, which they strengthened still more. It is beleaguered by sea and land. Lord Grey, the Deputy, who commanded in person the siege, had with him both Spenser and Raleigh. After three days' fighting, the Spanish commander offered to capitulate but had to surrender at discretion.

The surrender took place on November 10. What followed is related by the historian Froude.

"Don Bastian with the officers came out with ensigns trailing, and gave themselves up as prisoners. The men piled their arms outside the walls, and waited defenceless to learn the pleasure of their conquerors. They were strangers, and, by this time, alone. The officers were reserved for their ransom. Common prisoners were inconvenient and expensive, and it was thought desirable to read a severe lesson to Catholic sympathizers in Ireland. 'The Lord of Hosts,' wrote Grey, 'had delivered the enemy to us, none of ours being hurt, Mr. Cheke alone excepted. Then I put in certain bands, who fell straight to execution.' A certain number of the original party had fallen sick, and had been sent back to Spain. With the exception of these and of the officers, the entire party were slaughtered. A few women, some of them pregnant, were hanged. A servant of Saunders, an Irish gentleman, and a priest were hanged also. The bodies, six hundred in all, were stripped and laid out upon the sands, 'as gallant goodly personages,' said Grey, 'as ever were beheld.'"

"Mr. Froude, after referring to Camden's statement that Lord Grey had shed tears and Queen Elizabeth had wished the cruelty undone, surmises that they might possibly 'have felt some pity for the subjects of the King of Spain which was refused to the wives and babies of the Irish chiefs.' But he gives good reasons for doubting Lord Grey's tears or the sincerity of the Queen's pity.

"Mr. Froude is the first English historian who admits that Queen Elizabeth had sanctioned this early exploit of Grey and Ralegh. For nearly three centuries the royal approbation of the Mahometan lesson of Smerwick was denied or doubted by British writers, whilst on the other hand the popular belief in Ireland was universal, that Grey had broken faith, and that Elizabeth had approved of the massacre. . . . The two letters, from Elizabeth to the Lord Deputy, printed in the appendix, show that the popular Irish view was well founded. The first letter is dated December 12, 1580, and is in reply to Lord Grey's despatch of the 12th of November. In this letter she says the deed performed by him was 'greately to our lyking.' The second letter was written by the Queen two years subsequently, and refers with satisfaction to his exploit. They were both rendered accessible to the public only a few years ago when the State Papers were calendared at the Public Record Office.

"What real ground the Irish people have for the proverb, 'The Faith of Grey,' is difficult to determine.

"The Abbé Mac Geoghegan had asserted that one or two of the prisoners had been tortured or mutilated before being put to death. This was denied as a malicious fable. . . . One of the official reports however to Sir Francis Walsingham, the Queen's Secretary of State, in the seventy-eighth volume of the State Papers relating to Ireland for 1580, makes the following mention of the torture and mutilation:—

"'The ffortes were yielded, all the Irishmen and women hanged, and four hundred and upwardes of Italyans and others put to the sworde. . . . A ffrayer and others kept in store to be executed after examination had of them. . . . Next day was executed an Englishman who served Dr. Saunders, one Plunckett, and an Irishe Priest, theire armes and legges were broken and hanged upon a gallows.'" *

Down to the day of her death, as we have already said and proved on evidence, Elizabeth was swayed in all her policy towards Ireland by the counsels of the Dublin Castle, by the greedy passions of that sanguinary Club of Adventurers made up of such men as Raleigh, Spenser, the Carews, Humphrey Gilbert, Drury, Pelham, Lord Grey, Mountjoy, Fitz Williams, and Richard Boyle—the cleverest villain of them all.

The dispatches still extant in the State Paper Office, addressed to Secretary Walsingham, and to the Lords of the Privy Council, were read before Elizabeth. Where is there evidence that any of them, suggesting more rigorous measures against the Irish Papists, or reciting such horrors as the following, drew forth from Elizabeth a single word of reprobation?

Sir Nicholas Malbie writes to Walsingham, in April, 1580:

"This day the forces which I have entertained took the strong

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* Quoted from "Ralegh in Ireland."

Castle of Dwnemene from Shane Mac Hubert, and put the ward, both men, women, and children to the sword."

Captain Zouche, another of the band of exterminators associated with Raleigh and Spenser, writes to the Secretary of State, on the taking of a castle in the county of Limerick:

"They made no defence of fight, but the house being entered they yielded, and some sought to swim away; but there escaped not one, neither of man, woman, nor child."

Sir Richard Bingham, Lord President of Connaught, describing the battle, or rather the slaughter, at Ardnary in Connaught, says:

"The number of their fighting men slain and drowned that day we estimated and numbered to be *fourteen or fifteen hundred, besides boys, women, churls, and children,* which could not be so few as so many more and upwards."

That is to say, that about *two thousand* non-combatants, comprising boys, women, and children, were pitilessly butchered by that inhuman monster, whose cruelty Sir John Perrott could not restrain, and who was the ancestor of that Bingham family, one of the permanent curses of the County Mayo.

Sir William Drury's "bloody assize," completing the terror, the despair, the frenzy of the unfortunate populations, drove the whole Irish people to cast their fate with the weak and vacillating Desmond, and to fight "For God and Country" while vainly expecting men and arms from Spain. Sir James Fitzmaurice perished early in the great Desmond Rebellion, and left the men of the South without an experienced or able chief.

From England came Ormonde, with Sir William Pelham as Lord Justice, to continue Drury's reign of terror. Ormonde, who had detached his brothers from the national cause, and had received great favors from the Queen, felt himself bound to prove to the Irish that he was both a good Englishman and a good Protestant. In 1579, consequently, began in good earnest the campaign of extermination, of which all preceding commanders had only given a mere foreshadowing.

"Pelham and Ormonde advanced in two columns, the one from Dublin, the other from Kilkenny; while the fleet, under Sir William Winter, sailed round to support them on the coast of Kerry. The path of the two forces was marked by pitiless destruction of life and property: crops and cabins were burnt, and *every living being —the sick, the aged, the women, the infants*—were all ruthlessly slaughtered. A junction was effected at Tralee, and they turned northward to destroy Desmond's castles in Limerick. . . . The two English commanders then continued their raid to the extremities of Kerry, *plundering, burning, and murdering*,* as far as Dingle and Valentia; they then brought their forces back to Askeaton and Cork. Resistance there had been none. Their small but disciplined forces, well armed with firelocks, had marched from one end of Munster to the other. The rebels, half-naked, and armed with spears and knives, had been unable to meet them in the field, and when resistance had been attempted, it was behind stone walls. The ferocity of the English commanders had cowed the people into sullen quiet. . . . Ormonde, in a state paper enumerating his services, is said to have put to death '88 captains and leaders, with 1,547 notorious traitors and malefactors, and above 4,000 others.'"

We omit to mention at any length such bright gleams of success for the Irish as the terrible defeat of Lord Grey's forces in the gorge of Glenmalure, where Sir Peter Carew fell, and that no less ferocious Colonel Cosbie, the fiend of the treachery and massacre at the Rath of Mullaghmast. What chance had the unarmed, undisciplined, and ill-led Irish gatherings against the veteran soldiery of England. Yet, they would not submit to see their wives and children with their aged fathers and mothers massacred before their eyes without risking their own lives in their defence,—or the land of Ireland wrested from them foot by foot, without contesting its possession at all risks and with every means at their disposal.

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* The Italics are our own.

Adam Loftus,—another of Elizabeth's boy-favorites, was now Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Chancellor, Lord Justice, and all powerful; with him was associated, as Lord Justice, Sir Henry Wallop, a spirit as unscrupulous and as sanguinary as his own. The Desmond rebellion had been extinguished in a deluge of blood. But, as it had been waged against Catholics, and because they were Catholics, their co-religionists in the Pale of English descent, had, very naturally, sympathized with them. The insurrection had been systematically provoked. Those engaged in it were looked upon more in the light of men persecuted and slain for conscience' sake, than as rebels. The Desmond estates were now ready for confiscation. But these did not appear sufficient to the Castle Officials. They hungered for the lands of the Pale belonging to the Anglo-Irish Papists. Both branches of the House of Fitz Gerald must be annihilated.

"Gray swiftly returned to Dublin. There he arrested Kildare and Lord Delvin on suspicion, and flung them into prison; he turned savagely on the Wicklow insurgents, and, taught by his experience at Glenmalure, organized a number of small bands to hunt them from the mountains. Two of the Eustaces and Gerald O'Toole he caught and beheaded; Lord Baltinglass escaped to the continent. A reign of terror then began in Dublin. A conspiracy to seize the Castle and liberate the imprisoned peers was discovered, and martial law was proclaimed: the smaller men were hanged in batches, and nineteen of the best blood of the Pale were brought to trial for treason. Short work was made by pliant juries, and the whole of them were convicted and hanged; while Kildare was removed to England and subsequently died in the Tower.

"Nothing was now left to be done but to hunt down The Desmond, and those of his adherents who still clung to him. Ormonde was placed in supreme command in Munster; Captain Raleigh was in command at Cork; Captain Loach at Kilmallock; and Captain Achin at Adare. The sword and the gallows were the instruments for pacifying the country. Achin seized the Castle of David Purcell at Kildimo, and slew one hundred and fifty women and children; Ormonde caught and hanged Lady Fitz Gerald of Imokelly, and reports in his despatches the execution of one hundred and thirty-four persons, and that the pardoned chiefs were bringing in the heads of other rebels by the sackful. So merrily went the reign of blood." *

Come now, ye Planters, Undertakers, Adventurers,—or by whatever other name your English brethren and cotemporaries designated you! The land of Munster is ready for you. The estates of Desmond, and those who held under him, number 574,628 acres of good and profitable lands; those of the Eustaces in Kildare amount to 7,800 acres.

Oh! the beautiful country these southern lands of Ireland made in that age, in spite of all the havoc and ruin of centuries of warfare! But who can describe its desolation and the misery of the wretched remnant in the year of Grace 1586?—But one moment, dear reader, to hear Edmund Spenser explain to Queen Elizabeth how ALL IRELAND may be "reformed,"—and giving her as a sample how they had "reformed" Munster. He is denouncing pity and moderation in the Governors.

"The longer that government thus continueth, in the worse course will the realm be; for it is all in vain that they now strive and endeavour by fair means and peaceable plots to redress the same, without first removing all these inconveniences, and new-framing as it were in the forge all that is worn out of fashion. For all other means will be but as lost labour, by patching up one hole to make many; for the Irish do strongly hate and abhor all reformation and subjection to the English, by reason that having been once subdued by them, they were thrust out of all their possessions. . . . Every day we perceive the troubles growing more upon us, and one evil growing upon another, inasmuch as there is no part now sound or ascertained; but all have their ears upright, waiting when the watchword shall come, that they should all arise generally into rebellion, and cast away the English subjection."

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* "The Kingdom of Ireland," pp. 140, 141.

How was rebellion to be prevented, and this total "reformation," civil and religious, to be brought about? Spenser answers:

"Even with the sword. For all these evils must first be cut away with a strong hand before any good can be planted."

Let a strong army be sent into Ireland, such as "should tread down all that standeth before them on foot, and lay on the ground all the stiff-necked people of the land."

Establish powerful garrisons here and there in the most central and unassailable positions. Pay the soldiers well, victual and clothe them well. Let them not burthen or oppress the people. Reduce the insurgents to starvation by cutting them off from all relief and destroying all their resources.

"It is not with Ireland as it is with other countries, where the wars flame most in summer. But in Ireland the winter yieldeth best services, for then the trees are bare and naked, which used both to clothe and house the kerne; the ground is cold and wet, which useth to be his bedding; the air is sharp and bitter to blow through his naked sides and legs; the kine are barren and without milk, which useth to be his only food, neither if he kill them will they yield him any flesh, nor if he keep them will they give him food, besides being all with calf (for the most part), they will, through much chasing and driving, cast all their calves and lose their milk, which should relieve him the next summer."

The war recommended by Spenser—Wright says—was a war of extermination against all who did not make an immediate submission to the government. After the twenty days named in the first summons or proclamation to submit, "I would have none received, but left to their fortune and miserable end. My reason is, for that those which will afterwards remain without are stout and obstinate rebels, such as will never be made dutiful and obedient, nor brought to labour or civil conversation, having once tasted that licentious life, and being acquainted with spoil and outrages, will ever after be ready for the like occasions, so as there is no hope of their amendment or recovery, and they are therefore needful to be cut off.

"The end will, I assure you, be very short and much sooner than can be in so great a trouble, as it seemeth, hoped for,—although there should none of them fall by the sword, nor be slain by the soldier, yet thus being kept from manurance, and their cattle from running abroad, by this hard restraint they will quickly consume themselves and devour one another. The proof whereof I saw sufficiently exampled in these late wars of Munster. For, notwithstanding that the same was a most rich and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, that you would have thought they should have been able to stand long, yet ere one year and a half they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stoney heart would have read the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glynns, they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them. They looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves. They did eat the dead carrions, happy where they could find them; yea, and one another soon after, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their grave. And if they found a plot of watercress or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able long to continue therewithall; that in short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man and beast. Yet sure in all that war, there perished not many by the sword, but all by the extremity of famine which they themselves had wrought."

Surely it was not commiseration for Irish suffering that moved Spenser to write that page: he only wished to point out to the English government, in the utter ruin and desolation wrought in Munster (and in which he had borne his part), the example of the most successful strategy to pursue in subduing the rebellious inhabitants of the other provinces. His was a pitiless spirit, where there was question of the best means of conquering or exterminating these indomitable Celtic Papists.

In view, however, of that "most populous and plentiful country left void of man and beast" by the hosts of Sir George Carew,—we may like to survey another picture of Ireland colored by the hand of the same Edmund Spenser:

"Thus was all that goodly country utterly wasted! And sure it is yet a most beautiful and sweet country as any is under heaven, being stored throughout with many goodly rivers, replenished with all sorts of fish most abundantly, sprinkled with many sweet islands and goodly lakes like little inland seas, that will carry even ships upon their waters; adorned with goodly woods, even fit for building of houses and ships, so commodiously as that if some princes in the world had them, they would soon hope to be lords of all the seas, and ere long of all the world; also full of very good ports and havens opening upon England, as inviting us to come unto them, to see what excellent commodities that country can afford, besides the soil itself most fertile, fit to yield all kind of fruit that shall be committed thereunto. And, lastly, the heavens most mild and temperate, though somewhat more moist than the parts toward the west."

"And here the question may perhaps be asked, how comes it that Mr. Froude tells us nothing of Ralegh's doings in Ireland and of his Irish policy? The one vague reference to him as having accompanied Lord Grey to the west of Ireland in 1580, is all he tells us about Ralegh. Mr. Froude says not a word about his being for twenty years the favourite adviser of the Queen on Irish affairs; not a word about the special training she desired, under her royal warrant of February 1582, that he should continue to receive in Irish affairs; not a word about his successful intrigue against Ormond, and barely a word about the reward he got of forty thousand acres in Munster. Of his doings as Deputy President of Munster, as Governor of Cork, as Mayor of Youghal, as the daring leader of the English soldiers in many a raid from the mouth of the Blackwater to the sources of the Lee, Mr. Froude is also silent. But on the last and not least important point—the result of the policy so recommended and enforced —Mr. Froude speaks out. 'The entire province of Munster,' he says, 'was utterly depopulated. Hecatombs of helpless creatures, the aged, and the sick, and the blind, the young mother and the babe at her breast, had fallen under the English sword; and though the authentic details of the struggle have been forgotten, the memory of a vague horror remains imprinted in the national traditions.'

"The contemporary chronicle, Hooker's Supplement to Holinshed, which is so often quoted by Mr. Froude, describes all this and gloats over it as a notable and rare example of a people being justly rooted out, as the true and rational settlement of the Irish difficulty. Hooker appropriately dedicates his record of those Irish wars to Sir Walter Ralegh, on the ground that the 'right worthie and honorable gentleman and knight' was 'a partie and a dooer, a painful and a faithful servitor' in those transactions, the effect of which he thus sums up in the same 'Epistle Dedicatorie':—'The common people such as escaped the sword all for the most part are perished of famine or fled the countrie. The land itself, from being verie fertile, is waxed barren, yeelding nor corne nor fruits—the pastures without cattell: nothing there to be seene but miserie and desolation.'"*

"Are these terrible traditions all that remain of Ralegh's days in Ireland? How long are they to remain? What has been their effect in a country where the two main elements of social order—the religion of the people and the national sentiment—have not been allowed to play their legitimate part in the Government? Are those traditions growing, as political agents, less powerful with the increasing strength of popular spirit in Europe? How far does a frank admission of their vitality and their force enable us to look into the future?"*

In 1584 an Irish Parliament summoned by Sir John Perrot, now Lord Deputy, passed two acts of attainder, in order to give to the confiscation of the escheated lands a varnish of legality. Therein were mentioned one hundred and forty knights and gentlemen, all Irish Catholics of both English and Celtic blood.

The lands confiscated were divided into seigniories of from 4,000 to 12,000 acres, "to be held in fee of the Crown at a quit-rent of threepence per acre in Limerick and Kerry, and twopence per acre in Cork and Waterford. No rent was to be payable till A. D. 1590, and for three years after that only half-rent; for ten years the undertakers were to export their produce duty free. Younger sons and brothers were invited to come over from England to take up the land; and large tracts were given to those who had been engaged in the war. The conditions of the grants were that no native Irish should be taken as tenants; that the owner of every 300 acres should provide one horseman and one infantry soldier; that farmers, hop-planters, gardeners, wheelwrights, smiths, masons, carpenters, thatchers, tilers, tailors, shoemakers, and butchers, should be procured from England by the undertakers, and settled on the land; that each grantee of 12,000 acres should plant on portions of his estate eighty-six different families, of which twenty were to be freeholders, forty copyholders, and the rest small tenants of the laboring class, and should retain 1,600 acres for his own demesne lands. Every precaution was taken to keep the colonists from amalgamating with the remnant of the native population, who were to be cleared out of the plains into the upland country. The colony was to be planted on the profitable land only."

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* "Ralegh in Ireland," c. xxxiii.

† *Ibid.*, c. xxxiv.

Who got the land? About one-half was restored to the former owners who had 'friends at Court'; good care being taken that they should, if possible, be made to conform with the State Religion, or that they should hold out some fair promise of conforming. Forty English gentlemen obtained one or more seigniories. Walter Raleigh, who was high in favor with Elizabeth, got no less than 42,000 acres along the valley of the Blackwater, with the Town of Youghal, its college, monasteries, and the monastery of Lismore. Among other large grantees were Arthur Rabins, with 18,000 acres in the County Cork; Sir William Herbert and Sir George Bouchier, with 13,000 acres in Kerry and Limerick, respectively; Fane Beecher, Hugh Worth, Arthur Hyde, and Henry Billingsley, who each received 12,000 acres in Cork and Limerick; Sir William Courtenay, Sir Edward Fitton, and Sir Christopher Hatton, who obtained 10,500 acres in Limerick and Waterford. Amongst others, Ormonde got 3,000 acres in Tipperary, and Sir Wareham St. Leger and Edmund Spenser 6,000 acres and 3,000 acres respectively in County Cork."

How did the remnants of the Irish population take this robbery of their lands? They never submitted to it. They made life intolerable both to the new landlords and to their tenants. Coercion, suasion, bribery, coaxing had to be used, and used in vain to make them work for the usurpers of the lands of Munster, when they had frightened away the few farmers and artisans who ventured to come over from England. They banded themselves into "Robin Hood" societies who held the woods and sallied forth to burn and destroy. Against them the settlers employed the sword and the halter. They retaliated with fire and steel, never slumbering in their watchfulness for the fitting opportunity to destroy or expel those who had done so much to exterminate the Celts and their families.

Shall we blame these untameable defenders of their native land, of their ruined homes and altars? No! not so long as the Bible holds up to our admiration the heroic father of the Macchabees and his noble sons,—so long as the exploits of Debborah and Judith are glorified in the Divine Book,—No! not so long as England recalls with hearty praise the deeds of the Spanish Guerillas in the early years of this century, or so long as we Americans yearly recite the resistance of Washington and his generals, and of the people of the confederated colonies, to British misrule and tyranny.

Never, since the world began, was national struggle more legitimate or more sacred than that of Ireland against Elizabeth.

And now comes the Second Act in the great Irish Tragedy under Elizabeth.

She was exasperated by the utter failure of all her plans for the colonization of Munster. Her armies, her fleets, all the treasure and bloodshed, the destruction of life and property, the depopulation of the country,—all had proved unavailing. The outlawed and hunted KERNE of Munster prevailed over all the statesmanship of England, all the designing of Dublin Castle.

But Dublin Castle has infinite resources in the very absence of CONSCIENCE from its councils, backed by the land-hunger of the fortune-hunters, the blind hatred of the Celt by the Saxon, and the religious fanaticism which was the offspring in Ireland of both of these passions. "The only result of the ten years' desolation (says Mr. Walpole) was the enriching of a few adventurers and a knot of Elizabeth's courtiers." The result was not at all pleasing to the famished hordes disappointed of their prey. They will manage to bring about a second war, and with it the satisfaction of all their desires.

Was, then, the War with Tyrone, and the insurrection which broke out in all the provinces in 1595, the mere fruit of Irish unrest and the consequence of the inveterate hatred of the Irishman for his English tyrant? or was it deliberately planned and provoked by the persons who governed Ireland for the Queen?

"After the suppression of the rebellion in Munster,"—says the historian we have been quoting,—"there was an interval of comparative peace in Ireland, which might have been prolonged until the tendency toward improvement which had been growing in the country had borne satisfactory fruit,—had not the blind folly of the English Government precipitated a fresh quarrel. The south had been 'pacified' by fire and sword; so had Connaught by the merciless sternness of the President, Sir Richard Bingham. There had been no concerted rising in Connaught, the great Earls of Thomond and Clanrickarde had been steadily loyal to the Crown; but there had been much smouldering disaffection among the cadets of the house of Bourke, which from time to time burst out into open insurrection, and which had equally from time to time been suppressed by massacre. . . .

"In Ulster the chiefs were loyal, and both trusted and respected Perrot (the Lord Deputy), who, though sternly severe with those whom he considered traitors, was animated by a strong spirit of justice. He even persuaded them, as he had persuaded the lords of Connaught, to agree to the payment of an annual tax for the support of eleven hundred men in Ulster. . . . Sir John Perrot had many enemies. He was a man of hasty temper, who quarreled with his subordinates. He had sent a challenge to Bingham, who detested him for endeavoring to curb his severities in Connaught; he had knocked down Sir Henry Bagnal at the council board . . . ; he made an enemy of Adam Loftus, the archbishop, by proposing to endow a university in Dublin out of the revenues of the cathedral of St. Patrick, which had fallen to Loftus and his kinsmen as their share in the spoil of the monasteries. These and others were ever ready to whisper slanders of the lord-deputy to the Queen. It was always the fate of Irish deputies to have the ground cut from under them by the intrigues of the Irish council. . . . Perrot was recalled to eat his heart out and die in the Tower."

He was the best governor Ireland had known for ages, and was sincerely regretted. But neither the Irish Privy Council, nor the English, nor Elizabeth herself, whose ear at this time was only open to Walter Raleigh and his pestilential clique,—wanted such men as Sir John Perrot. Just and honest men, who sought the good of the country and the happiness of the people, were not the men for Dublin Castle and Adam Loftus.

Sir William Fitzwilliam, who succeeded Perrot, was cruel and avaricious. "Perrot's policy of conciliation was thrown to the winds, and every opportunity was recklessly taken by the incompetent new viceroy to exasperate the natives."

The son of the Earl of Tyrconnell,—the Red Hugh O'Donnell of the war of 1595,—had, by an act of unpardonable treachery, been kidnapped and confined for two years in Dublin Castle. It was the act of Sir John Perrot, who, in this, was only pursuing a mild form of the policy so often resorted to by other viceroys.

In Fermanagh the Maguires and their people were goaded into madness by the raids of Bingham from Connaught, and the English Seneschal of Monaghan from the other. The cattle of the Sept were carried off, the villages burned, the people slaughtered. In one of these raids Edmund Maguire, the chief, was slain. And the English soldiers, cutting off his head, kicked it about as a football, compelling some of his relatives and tribesmen to witness the sport.

The six years of Fitzwilliam's misgovernment, oppression, and peculation, ended in 1594. Complaints and remonstrances were sent to the Queen from all parts by the aggrieved Irish Chieftains. But the Privy Council in Dublin took good care that they never crossed the sea; and from Ireland no man could go to England without a special permit from the Lord Deputy.

Red Hugh O'Donnell escaped from his confinement, it is said, through the connivance of Fitzwilliam, who had received a handsome bribe. He was burning with revenge. He found Fermanagh in a flame, and all the northern Septs oppressed by sheriffs and worried by the government officials. Connaught was watching for an opportunity to throw off the yoke of Bingham.

Hugh O'Neill, who was brother-in-law to Red Hugh O'Donnell, had been in his boyhood spirited away to the English Court, where they vainly endeavored to make a Protestant of him. He was unwilling, at first, to provoke a war with England. But circumstances proved stronger than his firm conviction of England's superior might, or his reluctance to engage, or to have his country engage, in an armed contest with her. His first wife having died, he induced the daughter of Sir Henry Bagnal, lord marshal of Ulster, to elope with him and marry him. This made a mortal enemy of Bagnal. From that moment the latter joined hands with Adam Loftus and the Privy Council, and they again and again accused O'Neill of treasonable intentions and conspiracy, taking every precaution that his answers should never reach the Queen.

Believing in O'Neill's guilt and in the existence of a treasonable conspiracy, Elizabeth reinforced her army in Ireland by three thousand choice troops under Sir John Norris, brother to the President of Munster. Thus did the Government employ in statesmanship the process so well known to logicians of forcing a needed conclusion from their own premises—*faciam te bene venire:* they wanted a general Irish war, because they wanted a general confiscation of

Irish lands; and they compelled circumstances to bring on that war.

It is useless to deny that the Religious Grievance at this time in Ireland was not an intolerable one, and becoming more and more felt in every part of the Kingdom. "Tyrone was now beginning to see that there were two divergent courses open to him: he must either abide by the Government which distrusted him, and was swayed by Bagnal, who had vowed his destruction; or he must throw in his lot with the northern chieftains, who would welcome him as a mighty acquisition to their cause. He was rapidly drifting in the latter direction. He knew that if he was to hope for success there must be union amongst the Irish, and that a determined effort must be made to obtain the *bona fide* assistance of Spain. O'Donnell, since his escape, had been at open war with the Government, and had repeatedly endeavored to induce his brother-in-law to join him; his counsels at length prevailed; and these two now set themselves to work to form an extensive confederation against England."

With such historians as Wright, and even with Walpole, who follows Wright in his narrative, while differing much from him in spirit,—it is customary to treat the Catholics as if they were only "a party," and sometimes even "a mere faction" in Ireland. From the year 1534, when Henry VIII. began his open rupture with the Holy See, and when, with the exception of Ormonde, not one Irishman of any note had sided with the King, and not one Irishman, perhaps, in all Ireland professed the faith of Luther or Calvin,—Wright speaks of the Popish party, and the Popish faction, the recusant faction.

It would seem to any person of sound judgment and moderate mind, that a whole people can never be either a party or a faction. It is also most unjust to designate the loyalty to the Holy See of people, priests, prelates, and nobles,—as treason. It is the distinctive feature of Catholicism to believe in the Papal supremacy as of divine institution, and to cling to communion with Rome as to the only means of external union between all the members of Christ's Church. That proscribed, hunted, hanged, drawn and quartered as priests, prelates, and laymen were under Elizabeth for this conscientious loyalty to the Central Authority in Christendom, it would be otherwise than natural that, in the death-struggle going on in Ireland between two creeds and two races, the oppressed race and the persecuted professors of the old creed should invoke the sympathy and the aid of the Pope and of all Catholic peoples,—is apparent to any judicial mind.

"A solemn engagement was entered into between all the Confederates to stand by each other, and to make no submission and accept no terms which did not include them all. An appeal was distinctly made to Roman Catholics as Roman Catholics to treat the question as a religious one, and to join the movement in defence of their faith. Tyrone and O'Donnell wrote joint letters to Philip, to Don Carlos, and to Don Juan de Aguila, pressing them to send them troops 'to restore the faith of the Church, and to secure to the King a Catholic Kingdom.'"*

It went hard with the English forces during the first stages in the war. Spain sent timely aid. In August, 1598, Sir Henry Bagnal with 4,000 men was defeated on the river Callan, perishing himself on the field with 2,000 of his followers. The Provinces were all up in arms, the nobles of both races, with few exceptions, joining the insurgents. Elizabeth, alarmed, but determined to crush this rebellion, sent over a magnificent army of 20,000 infantry and 3,000 horse, under the command of Essex, her favorite. The Castle influence was too much for him: he was persuaded to march into Munster instead of attacking the Confederates in the north. The insurgents, on his way, declined a pitched battle, harassing the Earl's columns, and inflicting terrible losses, which soon reduced his forces by one half. He sought to gain by negotiation, what he could not by strategy; had a secret interview with O'Neill, which the Officials in Dublin and the jealous courtiers in England turned into a treasonable conspiracy. Elizabeth wrote to him, indignantly saying, that "to trust this traitor upon oath, is to trust a devil upon his religion." It would be curious to know what, at bottom, constituted her religion.

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* "The Kingdom of Ireland," p. 156.

Essex gave up the contest in Ireland and went to England to expiate on the scaffold his own incapacity or lack of success.

Then entered upon the scene the Puritan Mountjoy, who could fight as well as write, and whose strategy was no holiday parading. The new forces which he brought with him were admirably distributed on land and sea, and placed under men who could handle them, and who perfectly understood the war of extermination which was now the order of the day.

The Spaniards in vain sent a large fleet with 3,000 soldiers, who landed at Kinsale, and were soon besieged there by Mountjoy and Sir George Carew, President of Munster. The Lord Deputy had summoned to his aid every man he could dispose of. O'Neill and O'Donnell also hastened from the North, baffling Mountjoy's attempts to stop them on their march, and placing the English army at Kinsale between two fires. But treason was at work in O'Neill's councils. His plan of attack was revealed to the English commander, who soon made the Confederates assume the defensive, broke through their lines and drove them in utter route from the field. O'Neill never rallied his scattered followers, and O'Donnell fled to the Court of Spain to solicit fresh aid for his country. Thither an emissary of Mountjoy followed him, and cut him off by poison. In 1603,—just as Elizabeth was breathing her last,—O'Neill concluded with the Lord Deputy the Treaty of Mellifont, by which he submitted to the Crown, was forgiven, his followers amnestied, and religious liberty promised,—a promise which never was kept.

If the spirits of the departed, of those especially who wield upon earth the power of doing to humanity incalculable good, or of causing incalculable misery, are sent by Him who is Judge of the whole earth, to contemplate the scene of their good or evil deeds,—what a hell it must have been for the spirit of Elizabeth to survey Ireland as her lieutenants had made it at her death in 1603!

Let English and Protestant pens describe the awful scene.

"The rebellion in Munster was stamped out with awful ferocity. No quarter was given on either side. The returning Planters and Carew's flying columns laid waste the whole country, 'not leaving behind man or beast, corn or cattle.' . . . Tyrone, though not yet a hunted fugitive, saw that all hope of final success was gone. His country was so wasted that his people were dying of starvation by hundreds; the country was strewed with unburied carcasses; while an active and determined enemy was gradually drawing the net more closely round him. . . .

"The power of the Irish was completely broken by the process of starvation. The system pursued both in the south and in the north of destroying the crops, removed the whole source of sustenance on which the mass of the people depended. To add to the loss of the food at hand, Elizabeth's practice of debasing the coin had doubled and trebled the price of every purchasable article, and a fatal pestilence had followed upon the famine. The people in Ulster died of hunger by the thousands." *

So, the plan drawn up by Edmund Spenser for the Queen and her Government, for the instruction, indeed, of officers and soldiers, and to feed the anti-Irish passions of the English nation, were now literally carried out. Pregnant as is the passage just quoted,—it cannot convey a correct idea of all the methods used to desolate the land and destroy all life in it during the terrible years of Mountjoy, Carew, and Chichester's joint rule.

Once for all the story must be told by the English themselves. Even though they suppress very many things, and soften the colors which they use, the picture is as graphic as the descriptions of Dante's Circles in the *Inferno.*

1600. "It was in the month of August, that, having taken measures of protecting against any attack from Ulster, whither he announced his intention of making a general hosting, . . . Mountjoy marched with an army of somewhat more than six hundred men, of whom sixty only were cavalry, into Offaly and Leix, counties which had long been in the undisturbed possession of the Irish, and which therefore offered rich plunder to the English troops. The army committed great havoc, retaliating on the Irish with the same devastation which had been so often perpetrated by the insurgents in other parts. These districts were the chief supports of the rebels of Leinster, and it was therefore a part of Mountjoy's policy to destroy their provisions. *'Our captains,'* says Moryson, *'and by their example (for it was otherwise painful) the common soldiers cut down with their swords all the rebels' corn to the value of £10,000 and upwards, the only means by which they were to live, and to keep their bonaghts or hired soldiers.* It seemed incredible, that by so barbarous inhabitants the ground should be so manured, the fields so orderly fenced, the towns so *frequently* (populously) inhabited, and the highways and paths so well beaten, as the Lord Deputy here found them. The reason whereof was that the Queen's forces, during these wars, never till then came among them.' "*

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* "The Kingdom of Ireland," p. 169.

1601. "By this time the greater part of Ireland, by continual wasting and spoiling, had been reduced to a mere desert, and the insurgents, deprived of supplies at home, were compelled to depend upon importation from abroad; and this they were enabled to procure with the Queen's own treasure, a large portion of which fell into their hands. . . . It was found that, by the regular payment of the army in sterling money, an alarming quantity went into the hands of the insurgents, either directly by inroads and plunder, or indirectly, through commerce, and was used in procuring from the continent a regular supply of arms, ammunition, and provisions. The government hit upon an extraordinary method for remedying this inconvenience, which the Queen is said to have adopted with great reluctance. It was no less than the total exchange of the sterling coin, then used in Ireland, for a base currency. . . . This new scheme reduced the rebels to greater distress than ever. . . . Lord

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* Wright, "Hist. of Ireland," vol. i., p. 550.

Mountjoy kept the soldiers in continual employment against the rebels in different quarters, so that they made up in some measure by plunder for the real deficiency in pay caused by the change. Thus the desolation of the country was increased. . . ." *

"In a letter written from Newry to the lords of the English council the lord-deputy gives, in a few words, a picture of the exterminating warfare in which he was now engaged. 'Tyrone,' he says, 'is already beaten out of his country, and lives in a part of O'Kane's, a place of incredible fastness, where, though it be impossible to do him any great hurt so long as he shall be able to keep any force about him, the ways to him being inaccessible with an army, yet by lying about him, as we mean to do, we shall in short time put him to his uttermost extremity, and if not light upon his person, yet force him to fly the kingdom. In the meantime we can assure your lordships thus much, *that from O'Kane's country, where now he liveth, which is to the northward of his own country of Tyrone, we have left none to give us opposition, nor of late have seen any but dead carcasses, merely starved for want of meat, of which kind we found many in divers places as we passed.*'" †

Intelligence having been brought Mountjoy that O'Neill had quitted this lurking place and fled into Fermanagh, a district still in a state of insurrection,—the Lord Deputy thereupon "resolved, first, to spoil all the country of Tyrone, and to banish all the inhabitants from thence, enjoining such of them as would become subjects to live on the south side of Blackwater, so that if Tyrone returned he should find nothing in the country but the Queen's garrisons." ‡

"So effective was this ruthless policy of destruction"—says Wright —"that Mountjoy, in a letter written on the 12th of September (1602), the day after his return to Newry, acknowledges that not only in Tyrone itself, *which had been now reduced to a desert*, but in the surrounding countries, he had '*found everywhere men dead of famine, insomuch that O'Hagan protested unto us*, that between Tullaghoge and Toome there lay a thousand dead, and that since our first drawing this year to Blackwater there were above three thousand starved in Tyrone.' "*

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* Wright, "Hist. of Ireland," i., 559. † *Ibidem*, p. 583. ‡ *Ibidem*, p. 584.

Wright in a foot-note thus corroborates the assertion of Mountjoy. "To give some idea of the horrors of this Irish war, we have only to repeat the facts stated by MORYSON, an eye-witness, and our only authority for the particulars of Mountjoy's proceedings in the north. Moryson, describing the conclusion of the war, says: 'Now, because I have often made mention formerly of destroying the rebels' corn, *and using all means to famish them,* let me by two or three examples show the miserable estate to which the rebels were thereby brought.

" 'Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Richard Moryson, and the other commanders of the forces sent against Brian Mac Art (O'Neill) aforesaid, in their return homewards, saw a most horrible spectacle of three children (whereof the eldest was not above ten years old), all eating and gnawing with their teeth the entrails of their dead mother, upon whose flesh they had fed twenty days past; and having eaten all from the feet upwards to the bare bones, roasting it continually by a slow fire, were now come to the eating of her entrails in like sort roasted, yet not divided from the body, being as yet raw.

" 'Former mention hath been made in the Lord Deputy's Letters, of carcasses scattered in many places, all dead of famine. And no doubt the famine was so great, as the rebel soldiers taking all the common people had to feed upon, and hardly living thereupon (so as they besides fed not only on hawks, kites, and unsavoury birds of prey, but on horseflesh, and other things unfit for man's feeding), the common sort of the rebels were driven to unspeakable extremities (beyond the record of most histories that ever I did read in that kind), the ample relating whereof were an infinite task, yet will I not pass it over without adding some few instances.

" 'Captain Trever and many honest gentlemen lying in the Newry can witness, that some old women of those parts were used to make a fire in the fields, and divers little children driving out the cattle in the cold mornings and coming hither to warm them, were by them surprised, killed, and eaten, which at last was discovered by a great girl breaking from them by strength of her body; and Captain Trever sending out soldiers to know the truth, they found the children's skulls and bones, and apprehended the old women, who were executed for the fact.

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* " Wright, "Hist. of Ireland," vol. i., p. 585.

" 'The Captains of Carrickfergus and the adjacent garrisons of the northern parts can witness, that upon the making of peace, the receiving the rebels to mercy, it was a common practice among the common sort of them (I mean such as were not sword-men) to thrust long needles into the horses of our English troops, and they dying thereupon, to be ready to tear out one another's throat for a share of them. And no spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of towns, and especially in wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these poor people dead with their mouths all colored green by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend up above ground. These, and very many like lamentable effects followed their rebellion, and no doubt the rebels had been utterly destroyed by famine, had not a general peace shortly followed Tyrone's submission.' " *

"The cruel persecution "—says Wright—"which had been carried on during the autumn, seemed now to be yielding gradually to a more lenient policy, which was enforced upon the English government by the great expenditure of the war, and by the fear that the obstinate courage shown by the natives might still encourage the Spaniards to come to their assistance."

On the 31st October, 1602, Mountjoy received from Elizabeth a letter, which, among other things, most explicitly indorses his course of action in this war. " 'We would have you know for your comfort that we approve all the courses you have held since you took the sword in your whole government to have been accompanied with diligence, wisdom, and good successes, and so we accept the same at your hand.' " †

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* Wright, "Hist. of Ireland," vol. i., p. 585.

† *Ibidem*, p. 586.

II.

THE STUARTS AND THE COMMONWEALTH.

1. *James I. (1603–1625).*

WHILE James was still King of Scotland only and was looking forward with hope to be Elizabeth's heir, he took great pains to conciliate the good will of the Catholic Continental Princes.* He, therefore, held out in his correspondence with them, promises that he would deal leniently with the Irish Catholics, to whom Elizabeth's despotic and intolerant sway was a yoke of incandescent iron. But even had James been sincere in his professions of tolerance, and had he possessed firmness sufficient to carry them out, the temper then cherished towards Ireland by the English people, and the dearest interests of the men of blood and greed who ruled Ireland from Dublin Castle, must have rendered abortive the King's best intentions and tried his firmness to the utmost. James, however, possessed neither sincerity, nor firmness. That the favorable opinion gained for him in Rome and in the Catholic Courts, as well as among the adherents of the old faith in England, should have reached Ireland and there raised high the hopes of the population oppressed by Mountjoy, Carew, Chichester, and such adventurers as Edmund

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* "King James was at the utmost pains to gain the friendship of the Roman Catholic Princes, as a necessary precaution to facilitate his accession to the English throne. Lord Home, who was himself a papist, was entrusted with a secret commission to the Pope. The archbishop of Glasgow was an active instrument with those of his own religion. The Pope expressed such favourable sentiments both of the King and of his right to the throne of England, that James thought himself bound some years after to acknowledge the obligation in a public manner. Sir James Lindsey made great progress in gaining the English papists to acknowledge his majesty's title."—CARTE, "Life of James Duke of Ormonde," London, 1776, vol. i., p. 21.

Spenser, Walter Raleigh, and Humphrey Gilbert,—was natural and inevitable. The Irish, after his accession, committed the imprudence of sending a deputation to James, asking for the free exercise of their religion. "This act," says Wright, "was premature and indiscreet, and it irritated the King, who subsequently behaved with more reserve to the Irish lords, and was less lavish of his professions of grace. Nevertheless, various expressions uttered by James from time to time in the freedom of conversation, were eagerly seized upon by the priests as proofs of his secret inclinations, and he seemed to give some authority to the rumors they propagated, by his first speech in parliament, in which he spoke of popery as the 'mother church.' Encouraged by these appearances, the popish ecclesiastics laid aside the caution which had previously attended their movements, and they not only practised openly with their votaries, but they denounced the vengeance of their spiritual authority on all who should attend the worship established by the English government, or dissemble the religious principles which they had received from their forefathers." *

The extraordinary enthusiasm with which the Catholic worship had been openly restored in all the cities of the south of Ireland, produced a great sensation in Dublin Castle, in the Court circles in London, and throughout England. The cities of Ireland had been made, every one of them, military strongholds for the English religion as well as English supremacy. They were so many garrisons in a conquered and wasted country. The land for many a mile round about each of them had been ravaged and depopulated by the commanders in the last Elizabethan wars; the Irish inhabitants had been either banished from every incorporated town, or had been ruthlessly put to the sword; so that, at the death of Elizabeth, Protestants on both sides of the Channel had good reason to believe, that the largest and by far the fairest portion of Ireland was held by Englishmen, their co-religionists, and that, from cities and incorporated towns, at least,

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* "History of Ireland," vol. i., p. 596. Of course we cannot expect this writer to mention Catholics or the Catholic Faith with either respect or courtesy.

'Popery and Papists' had disappeared for ever. And lo! at the first tidings of the Queen's death, in all these places the Old Religion starts up as from the grave, and there is a veritable confederation of these cities against Protestantism and the Lord Deputy Mountjoy with his sturdy fellow-exterminater, George Carew! The land had been desolated by fire and sword, and lo! from out the still smoking ashes the rank weeds of "papistry," which it had cost so much to eradicate, lift up their heads on every side!

What! were not the Irish People crushed, exterminated, or, at least, demoralized?

Wonderful to say—No!

Though hunted from city, town, and fenced village, and shot down like wild beasts when they dared to appear in their neighborhood within a circuit of many a mile, the proscribed and outlawed Celts could not be kept away from the graves of their sires, from the site of their former homes, from within view of the monasteries and churches so dear to their childhood. They reappeared, like ghosts, all over the fields and amid the ruins which had drunk the blood of their kindred. They alarmed and terrified the stranger-occupants of the old homesteads as with the spectres of the massacred dead, as with the fearful importunity of spirits which would not rest in their unhallowed graves, but would persist in reappearing to demand reparation or to threaten revenge on the wrong-doers.

How came these Irish Catholics to insinuate themselves and to establish a foot-hold, even in the cities of the Pale, even in Cork and Waterford and Dublin? In spite of the awful extermination wrought in Ulster by Mountjoy, in Munster by Carew, in Connaught by Bingham, how did living men arise from amid the pools of blood poured out by the sword of the exterminator, as if the very slain were restored to life? Sir Walter Raleigh, while Mayor and Governor of Cork, had erected gallowses on both sides of Main Street from the North Gate to the South, and on them hanged up the hundreds of Catholic prisoners captured in one of his raids. The skeletons, the skulls of Irish Catholics, dangled in chains from battlements and city walls, or bleached, stuck on pikes above the city gates,—for years and years, through successive generations. Yet all this bloodshed, these horrors, this terror, which made of the fair earth an image of Hell, did not quell the revolt of the Celtic conscience, or crush the spirit of Celtic patriotism.

When Carew had written his *Pacata Hibernia* ('Ireland Pacified') amid the desolated fields of Munster, and while her soil was still reeking with the blood of hundreds of thousands,—Elizabeth dies, and lo! the Cities of the South, the strongholds of Protestantism and of the English power, rise up and celebrate the Mass, and sing the *Te Deum* in their long-desecrated cathedrals! Here is Wright's account of this surprising event:

"Mountjoy considered the rebellion so far at an end, that he was demanding the permission to return to England, and repose himself after his labors. On the 12th of April (1603) he received letters from Carew, informing him that the last of the rebels of Munster, Mac Maurice, was blocked up in his castle of Ballingarry, and on the point of surrender; and three days afterward O'Rourke, the last of the insurgent chiefs of the north, made his submission. The Lord Deputy was already preparing to leave Ireland when, on the 16th of the same month, he received an insidious letter from the mayor or governor of Cork. . . . This was followed the same day by alarming letters from various parts of Munster. . . . The citizens of Waterford had broken open the doors of the hospital, had introduced a popish priest, Dr. White, to officiate at St. Patrick's Church, and, having taken from the sexton the keys of the Cathedral, they had 'mutinously' set up the celebration of mass, and done 'many insolencies in that kind.' . . . At Kilkenny, a Dominican friar, assisted by some of the town, had proceeded to the Black Friars, then used as a session-house, where they had broken open the doors, pulled down the benches and seats of justice, and built an altar in their place. . . . The citizens of Limerick with their priests had entered into all the churches of that city, and there had erected altars and restored the rites of the Romish Church; and the citizens of Wexford had done the same. . . . The citizens of Cork took possession of the Protestant churches; . . . a pretended legate of the Pope, with a numerous body of priests, went in solemn procession to consecrate the Cathedral, and sang mass there publicly, while the townsmen placed guards of armed men at the church doors; and the latter swore on the sacrament, that they would spend their lives and goods in defence of the Romish religion. . . . The violence of the Catholic party in Cashel was more conspicuous even than in the other towns which had joined in this sedition. . . .

"This league of the cities of Munster—for it was found that they had confederated together—presented a new feature in the history of Irish politics. It had no direct connection with that of the Irish chiefs, nor does it appear to have been stirred up by any foreign agency or promise of assistance. It was the work of the priests, and it was the beginning of that agitation to obtain relief from harsh restrictions placed upon a religious creed, which was then persecuted by the State, which have continued without interruption to our days. The population of the cities was for the most part of English descent, and had no feeling or interest in common with the Irish Septs." *

What was the condition of these Septs, now broken up, with their fragments scattered over the land by the process of plantation begun by Henry VIII., and enforced at the point of the sword by Elizabeth?

They still occupied two-thirds of the Island, and, wherever they maintained their precarious sway, the old faith, the Brehon Law with its institutions, and the old social customs and manners of the Celtic race, prevailed in spite of all the fear inspired by the English arms and the persecuting religion which these upheld and propagated.

The Sept still clung to its patriarchal organization, in so far as its fragmentary condition permitted it to do so. But the wars of Elizabeth aimed at breaking up the Septs; and they did their work pretty thoroughly. The fate which had befallen the Celts of Offaly and

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* "History of Ireland," vol. i., p. 596.

Leix had already overtaken the Septs of Tyrone and Tyrconnell. The Plantations of James I. were only to prepare the way for the Transplantation into Connaught. The Chiefs were to be annihilated, and the Tribesmen separated and scattered over the surface of the island. Still they clung to what was left them of their institutions. The love of them was fostered in the homes of the Celtic Clergy.

In 1603 the monasteries of Ireland,—which were also the homes of hospitality, as well as the nurseries of learning and art,—had either fallen into the hands of the Protestant Clergy and laity, or been reduced to ruins. In those which were outside of the Pale, while the English language and literature may have not been neglected,—and, of course, English letters were of a necessity cultivated in the city monasteries,—the native Irish tongue, and the Latin of Catholic Rome were the subjects of special study. Of the medieval literary monuments which escaped the hate of the Reformation and the destroying rage of the Parliamentarian fanatics,—exquisite works both in the Native Celtic and in Latin survive to attest the high degree of culture imparted in these great national schools. The most learned of the Brehons and Seannachies often became monks or entered the ranks of the secular priesthood. Thus the knowledge of the Brehon Law and the national institutions was imparted in the monastic schools together with that of theology and literature. When the Religious Houses were destroyed or given over to Protestant uses, the faithful guides and teachers of the people imparted knowledge wherever they might. Fugitive priests and bishops collected their scholars around them in the bogs to which they were driven, or in the depths of the forest, or amid the solitude of the mountain heaths and rocks. Most touching instances are recorded of the difficulties which masters and pupils had to contend with in these evil days.

The Jesuit martyr, Edmund Campion, who wrote, in May 1571, an account of his mission among the Catholic Irish in the preceding year, seems to write rather contemptuously of the Brehon Schools, without accounting to himself for the fact that the Brehon Law and the Irish Language, like the Catholic religion itself, were proscribed by English Sovereigns. In the temporary huts where Irish Law and Letters were clandestinely taught, amid the forest or the morass, the missionary was shocked to find so little that reminded him of Oxford. "They"—the Brehon law-students—"speak Latin like a vulgar language, learned in their common schools of leachcraft (medicine) and law, whereat they begin children and hold on sixteen or twenty years, conning by rote the aphorisms of Hippocrates and the Civil Institutes, and a few other parings of these two faculties. I have seen them where they kept school, ten in some one chamber, grovelling upon couches of straw, their books at their noses, themselves lying prostrate; and so to chaunt out their lessons by piecemeal, being the most part lusty fellows of twenty-five years and upwards." *

Stanihurst, who came later and wrote in the last years of Elizabeth's reign, describes the law-courts held by the Brehon-Judges for chiefs and people, in the open air and on the consecrated spot on the hill-side. The spectacle and the proceedings testified to the democratic spirit, the practical Christian communism, and the veneration for the laws derived from the forefathers. These peaceful gatherings always afforded proof of the brotherly spirit which ruled the litigants. When the assembly broke up, all present were invited by the chiefs to partake of their hospitality; and he was the happiest and proudest who was followed down the hill by the largest crowd of friends and dependants.

A memorable instance of the fondness with which the Catholic Irish clung to these institutions and customs, is related by Sir John Davies, Attorney General of James I. This magistrate accompanied the Lord Deputy in a circuit made through the northern counties for the purpose of holding assizes, abolishing the Brehon Law with its courts, and of establishing everywhere the administration of English law.

"It was from a priest who had once been a Brehon, that Sir John

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* Edmund Campion, "Account of Ireland," p. 18.

Davies, in 1610, received the treatise on 'Corbes and Hermachs'; and few who have read his account of the first assizes held for the county Fermanagh, in the ruins of the Abbey, in the island of Lough Erne, will forget the aged Brehon of the Maguires drawing from his bosom with trembling hand the ancient roll, and refusing to part with it, until the Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, had given him his hand and faith that it should be restored to him. It was only at this period of the reign of James I. that the practice of the Brehon law was forbidden in Ireland; for the Statutes of Kilkenny . . . only prohibited the use of it in ruling differences between the English. The Irish had no other as they were denied the use of the English law. But after the subduing of Tyrone's rebellion, the English judges who had hitherto gone their circuits round the Pale, were sent all round Ireland to administer English law; and the practice of the Irish code was superseded, and declared 'to be no law, but a lewd custom.'"*

English law, all through the long forty-four years of the reign of Elizabeth (and the same may be said with truth of the three preceding reigns), only came to the Irish Catholics either in the shape of the Law of Supremacy and that against Recusants, or accompanied by these fearful edicts of persecution. And these laws, in nearly every district in Ireland, were only enforced through the oppressive agency of Martial Law. Indeed this last may, without exaggeration, be said to have ruled the land not only in war, but at all times. It was in the power of the Lord Deputy, and of the Presidents of Provinces, to authorize their inferiors to execute martial law in their localities. This simply meant the power to do away with the landed proprietors, and to seize, retain, and confiscate their property.

The spectacle, therefore, of the feeble remnants of the once powerful Sept of the Maguires of Fermanagh, assembling in the Island of Lough Erne, to meet in solemn assize, held in the ruined cloisters of the Abbey, the Lord Deputy and the English Judges, conveys to the mind a pretty exact picture of the social and political condition of the country and its people. James I. was then carrying out, under the veil of a philanthropical statesmanship, the traditional purpose of England to annihilate the Irish race, beginning with whatever remained of the ancient Celtic institutions. It is well known, that even while Sir John Davies endeavored to temper the administration of the English laws, and to make the people entertain some sense of security and hopefulness, the laws against Popery and those enjoining the attendance at Protestant worship were rigorously enforced within and outside of the Pale. The poor Brehon-Priest, who with trembling hand delivered up a portion of the venerated ancestral Code, could only by stealth and at the risk of his life celebrate mass in ruined abbey or church, or minister by night and hurriedly to the spiritual comfort of the sick or the dying.

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* John P. Prendergast, "The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland," p. 16.

At this point in Irish history, as from a high dividing line, where we can look back over the past, and forward to the eventful ages before us, we may well ask ourselves the question, Whether the experimental education so long given to the Irish people were fitted to inspire them with a respect for authority personified in British rulers, or for law as embodied in the cruel and irrational legislation, so often held to their lips, like a cup full of unmixed bitterness and deadliest poison? And, then, after the experience of the fearful past, was to come the new legislation of James, and Charles I., and the Puritan Commonwealth; and then . . . , and then . . . ! What horrors fill up the intervals between Cromwell and the close of the 18th century! How could a people so oppressed and legislated against be a law-abiding people, when LAW was to them a red-handed tyrant clad in steel, imposing on the Christian conscience the violation of all the most sacred obligations, and ignoring all right, human and divine?

In the million or million and a half of Catholic Celts who, in 1603, still lived all over Ireland, in perpetual dread of new persecutions, new rebellions, massacres, confiscations, and transplantations, there were magnificent materials with which to build up a great, prosperous, and cultivated Christian community. For that it was only needful to engraft on the institutions, the civilization derived from a not inglorious past, what was most in conformity with true liberty and the progress achieved by the other nations of Christendom.

No! extermination, not conciliation, is the historic policy of England in Ireland.

James I., in giving up his scheme of peaceful, legislative reformation, for one of "extirpation," was only the tool of that Policy.

Any fair-minded person who has read in the authentic State Papers, which are daily brought to light in the Record Office, London, the proofs of the nefarious methods resorted to by Lord Lieutenants, Lord Deputies, Lord Justices, and Lord Presidents in Ireland, methods expressly sanctioned by their Sovereign,—will not be surprised that James I. was, in this respect, as unscrupulous as Elizabeth. "The Irish Enemy" had been the designation under which all the native Irishmen of Celtic race were outlawed before 1534. Up to that year nothing but the sheer impossibility of driving them by force from their native land, prevented their extermination. When Henry VIII. and Elizabeth attempted to enforce the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity by making the refusal high treason, then the word "Traitors" was substituted for the "Irish Enemy," or rather included it, adding the bitterness of religious fanaticism to the old fierce hatred of race. Ireland must not be permitted to remain in the hands of "traitors" and "papists." Ireland was, as James himself expressed it, 'a back-door to England'; it must not be permitted to remain in possession of any but Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Protestants.

The substitution of the English Common Law for the Brehon Institutions and Customs was only a covert way toward that end. It did not work fast enough to gratify the theological passions which were fermenting so fiercely in England, still more so in Scotland, and more fiercely still among the numerous Scotch Puritans in the north of Ireland; and more impatient than they were the officials of Dublin

Castle and the crowd of hungry adventurers, who preyed on confiscation, and were skilled in devising or discovering conspiracies and rebellions.

The broad and fertile lands of the Geraldines were in the hands of the English "Undertakers," to whom was left the task of "burying" for ever in the south the nationality and religion of Ireland. The northern half of the Island, still,—in 1603, nominally held by O'Neill and O'Donnell, with the fragments of Septs who still clung to these chiefs,—must be brought under absolute subjection to British Protestantism. O'Neill and O'Donnell had just been pardoned and restored, with restricted rights, to their ancient inheritance in Tyrone and Tyrconnell. The Lord Deputy, Chichester, and the Justices who had accompanied him on his circuit through the north, had convinced themselves that there could be no hope of lasting success for the English and Scotch colonies of Ulster, so long as the great Irish chieftains were permitted to remain in the land, holding up, even in their altered titles and sadly diminished power, a shadow of the old sovereignties so dear to the Irish heart. The two Earls must go! Think you Dublin Castle will be at a loss to devise a conspiracy or rebellion?

Forged letters had been successful devices employed by the Lord Presidents and Lord Deputies in getting rid of the Geraldines and getting hold of their broad lands. Such letters play a conspicuous part in the tragic drama of persecution enacted in the Three Kingdoms during the 16th and 17th centuries.

"A letter dropt in the Privy Council Chamber (Dublin)," says Leland, "intimated a traitorous scheme of rebellion formed by the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, and other Irish lords and gentlemen of the north; that they had solicited assistance from Spain and Brussels, and intended to begin the war with surprising the Castle of Dublin, and assassinating the lord-deputy and council. It seems extraordinary, that the northerns who were still smarting under the chastisement they had received in the late rebellion, whose consequence and influence were considerably diminished, and who were very lately reconciled to government, should precipitately involve themselves in the guilt of a new rebellion."*

A contemporary historian, one whose account of the rebellion of 1641 has been lately published from the original manuscript, states the opinion now generally received in the following terms: "When O'Neill observed his nearest and dearest kinsmen to flinch from him by degrees, (he) condescended to make peace. The State of Ireland being jealous of his greatness, informed Her Majesty of some private practices of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, . . . which was truly and really a misinformation. Many such tricks were used between Her Majesty and the State of Ireland, tending to his destruction, as observable in the Chronicle of Fynisse Morrisson, Secretary of State in England and Ireland. However his men, weary of war and tasting now of the security of peace, being in continual danger, fled away, (and he) went to Rome himself and Tyrconnel." †

"The King himself," says Dr. Curry, "was so apprehensive that this affair of the Earls '*might blemish* (as he expresses it in a proclamation on that occasion) *the reputation of that friendship which ought to be mutually observed between him and other princes, that he thought it not amiss to publish some such matter by way of proclamation, as might better clear men's judgments concerning the same.'* At the same time solemnly promising, '*that it should appear to the world as clear as the sun, by evident proof,* that the only ground of these earls' departure was the private knowledge and inward terror of their own guiltiness.' But neither in that proclamation, nor in any manner whatever, did his majesty design, ever after, to enlighten the world, even with the least glimpse of evident proof, that such was the only motive of these earls' departure. And I shall leave it to the decision of every candid reader, whether the non-performance of his majesty's solemn promise be not a better negative proof of the nullity and fiction of this conspiracy of the Earls, than the bare non-appearance of a memorial in their vindication can be deemed of its reality." ‡

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* "History of Ireland," ii., 498.

† John T. Gilbert, "Contemporary Hist. of Affairs in Ireland," i., pp. 5, 6.

‡ John Curry, "Review of Civil Wars in Ireland," i., 86.

Consulting James' silly and hypocritical proclamation itself, we find that it professes to reply to the causes of flight assigned to them by popular report among Irish Catholics,—that they were refused justice for manifest grievances, and persecuted for conscience' sake. He descends to the base expedient of aspersing both the religion of the Irish people, the morality of the chiefs, and the social conditions created by Catholicism. It would, he thought, be preposterous to trouble men about religious opinions when they had no religion at all, and lived in such barbarous and unchristian ways, that they regarded "murder as no fault, marriage of no use, nor any man deemed valiant, who did not glory in rapine and oppression. . . . We do hereby profess, on the word of a King (the hypocrite goes on to say) that there never was so much as any shadow of molestation, nor purpose of proceeding in any degree against them, for matter concerning religion."

As to the flimsy fabric set forth by Bishop Carleton and dwelt on so complacently by Wright, it can deceive no serious-minded person. From the concluding portion of the royal proclamation, it is clear that the Dublin Castle officials had been trumping up accusations of plots and conspiracies, and sedulously fostering in the royal mind the notion that the Earls were only husbanding their resources for a new rebellion. "Their only end was," he says, "to have made themselves by degrees more able than now . . . to resist all lawful authority (when they should return to their vomit again) by usurping power over other good subjects of ours, that dwell among them, better born than they, and utterly disclaiming from any dependency upon them. . . . . They have (before running out of our kingdom) not only entered into combination for stirring up sedition and intestine rebellion, but have directed divers instruments, as well priests as others, to make offers to foreign States and Princes. . . . Under the condition of being made free from the English government, they resolved also to comprehend the utter extirpation of all those subjects that are now remaining alive within that kingdom, formerly descended from the English race." . . .

Not only did James never afterward attempt to furnish the slightest proof of these grave assertions, but no such proof ever has been adduced or found in the State Papers. All these rumors of conspiracy and combination with foreign powers were easily believed by the English people, as were the resolutions to exterminate in Ireland all persons of English birth or race. These helped to foster the national hatred of the "Irishry," and justified in advance every project set on foot for another attempt to "root out" the "Enemy."

Soon after the flight of the Earls, and while the Government was busy, on the one hand, in taking possession of the lands of the fugitives, and, on the other, in preparing, by such utterances as the above proclamation, to justify James' vast schemes of "Plantation," a young northern chief, Sir Cahir O'Dougherty, was provoked into open rebellion. He was closely allied to both the exiled princes. He was killed on the battle-field by "an accidental shot," and all his vast estates and those of his adherents were declared forfeited to the Crown. Thereby, and by the forfeiture incurred by the fugitives, upwards of 800,000 acres of arable land in Ulster were at the disposal of the King for protestantizing and anglifying the Kingdom.

The King was not fortunate in his attempt to put forth the pretended treason of Tyrone and Tyrconnell as a reason for his change of policy toward the populations of Ulster. In the scheme first divulgated, James purposed to restore to the great chieftains and principal landholders their own immediate demesnes, as distinguished from the lands of the whole Sept. The lands thus given back to these great nobles were to be held under the King for the performance of Knight's service. The Creaghts, or wandering pastoral population, were to live thenceforward in villages with fixed pasture lands. They were to pay a money-rent to their lords instead of the ancient burthens of coigne and livery. The months spent by Sir John Davies and Chichester in introducing this change into Ulster and making it accepted,—the poetic Attorney General conceives to have been so well spent that this year was to the people "a year of jubilee."

Perhaps it might have been regarded as such, had the King been in good faith, or compelled his subordinates in the government of Ireland to execute every part of his compact with the people. But the promises made, and the hopes held out, in 1607 were alike brought to naught in 1608.

To say that the flight of O'Neill and O'Donnell forced the King to change his purpose and undo what he had just done, would be to say what is not warranted by the facts of history. In two different proclamations issued on the occasion of this flight, the King declared, that, in taking possession of the territories belonging to the fugitives, he should see to it that the inhabitants were protected and maintained in their holdings. The advice of Chichester, who was to profit so largely by the new scheme of plantation of 1608, prevailed over all other considerations. "He (Chichester) joined with great abilities and attainments a thorough knowledge of the country to be planted, of the manners and character of its present inhabitants, and of the wishes and exigencies of their chiefs. He caused surveys to be taken of the counties where the new settlements were to be established, drew up particular descriptions of them, pointing out the situations proper for building towns and castles, and made a full report of the character of the Irish chiefs, and the manner in which they should be treated, and pointed out the impediments which were to be expected, and how they ought to be removed."*

No one man, with the sole exception of Cromwell, has done more toward extirpating the old Irish race from the land of their fathers, or has left behind a greater name for mingled cruelty and ability, than Arthur Chichester. The search into the public records of both Kingdoms, and a conscientious study of the documentary treasures in possession of the great families, will surely bring to light the formal and explicit proof of what is now only a matter of circumstantial evidence,—that the first plantation scheme of James, based on an unsuccessful attempt made by him,† before his accession to the English throne, to colonize the most fertile portions of the highlands of Scotland with planters from the southern counties, was given up at the instance of the Irish Lord Deputy, who substituted one of his own, one which effectually planted the Anglo-Scotch Protestant ascendancy in the confiscated territories of Tyrone and Tyrconnell.

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* Wright, "Hist. of Ireland," i., p. 602.

† *Ibidem*, p. 602.

The Plantation of Ulster on the grand scale proposed by the Lord Deputy and adopted by the King, began in earnest in 1608–9, though not before 1613 did the Irish Parliament packed by the King, the Lord Deputy, and the Attorney General, sanction the enormous iniquity committed against the two fugitive Earls, and, what was infinitely worse, confiscate the patrimony of an entire people, who had neither rebelled, nor conspired, and were guilty only of the crime of being Celts and Catholics.

The ancient inhabitants of six entire counties were thus doomed to be disinherited, and driven from one corner of Ireland to another, as if they were herds of wild buffaloes, that could be surrounded by the hunters, and forced at the point of the lance far away from the path of advancing civilization. But what that civilization was which such men as Chichester could implant anywhere, we must not and need not stop to inquire.

There were three divisions made of the spoils :

First, to 'English and Scotch who are to plant their proportions with English and Scottish tenants;'

Secondly, to 'servitors in Ireland, who may take English or Irish tenants, at their choice;'

Thirdly, to 'natives of those counties who are to be freeholders.'

The largest and fairest portion of the lands was bestowed on the favored few of the first class; * on the next were bestowed those of

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* *Orders and Conditions of the Plantation of Ulster.* 8. That in the surveys observation be made what proportions, by name, are fittest to be allotted to the Britains; what to the Servitors; and what to the natives; wherein this respect is to be had that the Britains be put in places of best safety; the natives to be dispersed; and the Servitors planted in those places which are of greatest importance to serve the rest.

the second quality; and the despoiled Irish were planted on those of inferior quality. But a malignant feature of this transaction remains behind,—a feature unique in its character. The wretched Irish, victims of a vile scheme of depredation, deprived of their paternal homes, and exiled to the most sterile spots, were barbarously cut off from all chance of ever regaining their possessions; as the undertakers and servitors were bound, under penalty, never to sell to the *mere Irish,* nor to Roman Catholics of any nation: for the disposal to persons who did not take the oath of supremacy, and 'conform themselves in religion according to his majesty's laws,' was rigorously prohibited and punished.

"To bring this point home to the feelings of an American reader," —says the author of *Vindiciæ Hibernicæ,*—"I venture to suppose an analogous case, to which I require particular attention. Suppose that the resistance of America in 1776 had terminated as fatally as the various insurrections of Ireland have done; or, to come nearer to the true state of the case, to make the analogy more complete, suppose a wild incoherent letter had, in 1774, been dropped in the court of St. James's, accusing George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and Peyton Randolph, of a conspiracy; suppose that such threats were held out, and such underhand means used, as to induce them to have recourse to flight; suppose that in consequence of their flight, George III., imitating the pious example of James I., had seized on the entire province of Virginia; had taken the inhabitants like so many merino sheep, and planted, in the Dismal Swamp, North Carolina, those whose ancestors, for time immemorial, had had lordly palaces in the great Limestone Valley; and suppose further, that these wretched victims planted in the Dismal Swamp, were condemned to vegetate there, and that the intruders on their possessions in the Valley were bound, under heavy penalties, never to sell any part of their own lands to them; suppose, too, that a large portion of the ill-fated inhabitants, who could not be placed advantageously in the Dismal Swamp, were 'transported into such other parts as, by reason of the waste lands therein, were fittest to receive them, and not planted together in one place.' What judgment would he form of such an odious system of rapine and cruelty? Would he not regard it as a violation of the most sacred rights of human nature? and as branding with infamy the vile projectors of the spoliation and their accomplices? Such a judgment ought he to form of the 'famous northern plantation, so honourable to the King' —so Leland calls it: and ought not the historians who have not merely palliated, but justified and eulogized such unjust proceedings, partake of the disgrace of those whose crimes they dare to vindicate?" *

"Manors of 1,000, 1,500, and 3,000 acres were offered by this project to such English and Scottish as should undertake to plant their lots with British Protestants, and engage to allow no Irish to dwell upon them. For the security of the Plantation, all Irish who had been in arms were to be transplanted with their families, cattle, and followers, to waste places in Munster and Connaught, and there set down at a distance from one another; while those who should be suffered to remain, were to remove from the lands allotted to the planters, to places where they could be under the eye of the Servitors, as those planters were called who had shares given them in reward for their services after a war or rebellion.

"The Irish gentlemen who did not forfeit their estates received proportions (intended to be three-fourths of their former lands, but too often only one half or one third, or none at all, as the English 'were their own carvers,') as immediate tenants of the King. Their lands were liable to forfeiture if the chief took from any of his former clansmen any of his ancient customary exactions of victuals; if he went coshering on them as of old; if he used gavelkind, or took the name of *O'Neill* or *O'Donnell, O'Carroll* or *O'Connor,* by tanistry. On his death, his youthful heir was made ward to a Protestant, to be brought up in Trinity College, Dublin, from his twelfth till his eighteenth year, in English habits and religion,—often after this enforced conformity, all the more embittered, like Sir Phelim O'Neill, against English religion. The wandering Creaghts were to become his tenants at fixed money rents. He covenanted that they should build and dwell in villages, and live on allotted portions of land, 'to them as grievous as to be made bond slaves.' Unable to keep their cattle on the small portions of land assigned to them, instead of ranging at large, they sold away both corn and cattle.* Unused to money rents, though of victuals they formerly made small account because of their plenty, they were unable to pay their rents; and their lords finding it impossible to exact them, and being thus deprived of their living, numbers of them fled to Spain. Similar plantations followed in Leitrim, Longford, King's County, and Wexford, except that in some (as in Leitrim) one half of the lands of the Irish were to be seized."†

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* *Vindiciæ Hibernicæ*, pp. 179–80.

The same writer, further on and in pursuance of the same subject, thus illustrates the practical working of the royal plan of extermination. "In the Wexford plantation of 1611, the lands to be planted lay between the River Shaney and the sea, consisting of 66,800 acres, besides woods and mountains. Of four hundred and forty-seven Irish claiming freeholds only twenty-one were to retain their ancient houses and habitations, thirty-six others were to be elsewhere provided for, and all the rest of the freeholders, three hundred and ninety in number, together with the other inhabitants, estimated to be 14,500 men, women, and children, were removable at the will of the planters.‡

"On the 7th of May, 1613, the Sheriff of Wexford proceeded to put the latter in possession of the several portions of the land specified in their patents, broke open the doors of such of the ancient proprietors as resisted, and turned them out.§

"They probably felt this all the more, as they had been previously informed that 'nothing was intended unto them by the plantation but their good; and that the civilising the country was the chief thing aimed at.' *

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* Letter of Sir Arthur Chichester to the King, Oct. 30, 1610. Ellis's Original Letters, 3d Series.

† "Cromwellian Settlement," p. 45.

‡ "Return of Sir Arthur Chichester and other Commissioners to the King" (*Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. i., p. 376).

§ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

"'They all offered, but in vain, to pay such rents, and to perform such buildings, as the new undertakers were to perform.' †

"The men of Longford, in their address to the Royal Commissioners authorized (A. D. 1622) to hear the grievances of Ireland, say, that, instead of losing one-fourth, many had all taken from them; and that divers of the poor natives, or former freeholders, after the loss of all their possessions or inheritance, some went mad, and others died instantly for very grief: 'as one O'Feraill, of Clayrad, and Donagh McGerald O'Feraill, of Cuillagh (and others whose names for brevity are left out), who on their death-beds were in such a taking that they by earnest persuasion caused some of their friends to bring them out of their said beds, to have abroad the sight of the hills and fields they lost in the said plantation, every one of them dying instantly thereafter.'" ‡

We have mentioned Longford and Wexford here in connection with the Plantation of Ulster,—though the exterminations in the former belong to a later date, and to a different scheme of confiscation devised by the Irish Privy Council and readily embraced by the royal mind.

Was the success which attended the gigantic experiment in Ulster such as to induce the King and his counselors to try others on a like scale in Leinster and Connaught?

Let us, before we follow the Exterminators into these two last Provinces, glance at the practical measures employed by the Ulster Planters to "civilize" such of the Catholic Celts as were allowed to remain beneath their native skies. We use the word CIVILIZE advisedly. For the pretext put forth by the historians who attempt to justify James' spoliations, as well as his merciless treatment of

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* "Return of Sir Arthur Chichester and other Commissioners to the King" (*Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. i., p. 374). † *Ibid.*, p. 390.

‡ Harris MSS., p. 68. Folio. Royal Dublin Society's Library.

the Catholic population, dwell with special emphasis on the benefits to "civilization," which the King had in view, and which these measures tended to promote. Here are a few of these historical judgments, which we beg the reader to reconsider and revise.

"To consider James in a more advantageous light," says Hume, "we must take a view of him as the legislator of Ireland: and most of the institutions which he had framed for civilizing that kingdom, being finished about this period, it may not here be improper to give an account of them. He frequently boasts of the management of Ireland as his masterpiece; and it will appear upon inquiry, that his vanity in this particular was not altogether unfounded. . . . After abolishing these Irish customs, and substituting English law in their place, James, having taken all the natives under his protection, and declared them free citizens, proceeded to govern them by a regular administration, military as well as civil."

Wondering if Hume ever studied the facts of Irish history in the original records, we next quote the words of a reverend author, who wrote his history of Ireland within the precincts of Dublin Castle, of which he was chaplain, and with the authentic documents piled up around him.

"The passion for plantation which James indulged," says Leland, "was actuated by the fairest and most captivating motives. He considered himself as the destined reformer and civilizer of a rude people; and was impatient for the glory of teaching a whole nation the valuable arts of life; of improving their lands, extending their commerce, and refining their manners."

To the favorable opinion of these two authors we might add that of Sir John Davies, the King's Attorney General, delivered in answer to a remonstrance from the dispossessed Irish of Ulster, were it not superfluous. As we have seen, this good man was well rewarded in fertile Irish lands for his services in forwarding these plantations, and the eloquence spent in justifying them. The populations of Tyrone and Tyrconnel pleaded before the Dublin Privy Council, "that they had estates of inheritance in their possessions which their chief lords could not forfeit. . . . That they might have the benefit of a proclamation made about five years since, whereby the persons, lands, and goods, of all his majesty's subjects, were taken into his royal protection."

To this appeal, the Attorney General, in conclusion, would have the disinherited and beggared people of Ireland be satisfied with these assurances: that "civility cannot possibly be planted among them (incorrigible barbarians as they are) but by this mixed plantation of (English and Scottish) civil men"; that, whereas under Henry II. "not one Irish family had so much as an acre of freehold in all the five counties" of the Pale, now, on the contrary, "these natives of Cavan have competent portions of land assigned to them, many of them in the same barony where they dwelt before; and such as are removed are planted in the same county; so as his majesty doth in this imitate the skilful husbandman, who doth remove his fruit trees, not with a purpose to extirpate and destroy them, but that they may bring better and sweeter fruit after the transplantation."

Poetic and candid soul of Sir John Davies, how fortunate the English Solomon was in having in thee such a mouthpiece!

But let us see how it fared in Cavan and throughout Ulster with those privileged not to be transplanted.

How the Ulster Undertakers dealt with the Native Irish in 1610.

Three kinsmen of the name of Blenner-Hassett, with nine other English gentlemen, were among the first to undertake the "plantation" of 60,000 acres around Lifford, in the county Fermanagh. Apparently the enterprise was under the patronage of Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, who may have contributed largely toward the common funds. In 1610, after carefully surveying the whole country, and calculating all the chances and difficulties of their undertaking, Thomas Blennerhassett addressed to Prince Henry of England, "A Direction for the Plantation of Ulster." The memoir, although written for the son, was sure to be carefully read by the father.

Indeed the main recommendations in it, are substantially the same as those Edmund Spenser addressed to Queen Elizabeth in 1598. "Your most loving Father's wonderful wisdom and industrie," the memorialist says to the Prince, has "redeemed, delivered, and quite acquitted . . . Ulster, from the usurping tyranny of traitors. . . . Despoiled, she presents herself in a ragged and sable robe,—ragged indeed, there remaineth nothing but ruins and desolation. . . . Of herself she aboundeth with many the very best blessings of God. . . . Fair England, she hath more people than she can well sustain: goodly Ulster for want of people unmanured, her pleasant fields, and rich grounds, they remain if not desolate, worse."

When Thomas Blennerhassett first arrived in the north of Ireland, to prepare the way for his associate-undertakers, he sought out the Lord Deputy, Chichester, who, with the other Commissioners, was in the neighborhood of Lifford, making a careful survey of the escheated lands. "I being there conversant with some of the chief knights and captains," he proceeds to say, "desired of them to know the cause why they themselves were not forward to undertake these profitable seats and rich grounds." The answer was that it was a ruinous and bootless venture, as things then stood. A manor-house protected by twenty or forty tenants would afford no security for person or goods. A castle or a fort might serve as a refuge in case of sudden attack. But "the cruel wood-Kerne and the devouring wolfe, and other suspicious Irish" would sweep the country outside. He gives, as a striking illustration, the case of Sir Toby Caulfield, who had erected one of the strongest castles in Ulster, Charlemount, and supplied it with a good garrison and abundance of ammunition. "Yet now (even in this fair calm of quiet) his people are driven every night to lay up all his cattle as it were in ward. . . . The like I have observed in many other places: and to speak the truth, all men there in all places do the like, and that within the English Pale. . . . Sir John King he dwelleth within half a mile of Dublin, Sir Henry Harrington within half a mile on the other side thereof: few men that ever I have seen better seated for much good soil. They also do the like; for these fore-named enemies do every night survey the fields to the very walls of Dublin; whatsoever is left abroad is in danger to be lost. So they cannot for the foresaid causes contrive anything to much profit, although it hath been inhabited a long time.

"The consideration whereof satisfied me with the impossibility of planting a manor under the protection of any strong-built castle; but after I had travelled amongst the mere Irish, and had sufficiently informed myself with their conditions, their nature, and manner of life, I found it most certainly impossible by such kind of plantation to improve anything with security, to any great profit, neither any with whom I conferred, would or could set down how with security anything could be undertaken."

The writer does not undervalue the importance and necessity of "many castles and forts well fortified" for the purpose of overawing the sparse population around, especially "being at this present without men of conduct or armour." These strongholds, he maintains, with their military garrisons, coming to the support of each other in every emergency, would make the country secure in time of war. They could then scour and ravage the country, taking from the "Wood-Kern" all means of subsistence. But in peaceful times "the wood-kerne and many other . . . . do threaten every hour . . . . to burn and steal whatsoever: and besides them there be two, the chief supporters of all their insolency, the inaccessible woods and the not passable bogs."

It is a wonderful and thrilling story, this of the heroic and unconquerable resistance of a people, more than decimated again, and again, and again by wars of extermination, in which all the advantages of warfare were on the side of their foes,—the best defensive and offensive weapons of the age, discipline in the well-appointed bodies of infantry and cavalry, and scientific skill in the commanders. And here are these poor hunted *Kern,* the light spearmen of the Irish (for their swordsmen or Gallowglasses have been slain, transplanted, or incorporated into the English armies outside of Ireland; and their nobles are dead or in exile, or bought over by the English)—here are these brave Kern, the remnants of the popular soldiery, who *hold the land* in spite of defeat, disaster, and successive massacre, hold it with an iron grip up to the fortified palisade of the Undertaker, up to the strong walls of castle, fortress, and corporate town, up to the very walls of Dublin. James and Elizabeth, Mary and Edward, and Henry VIII. in vain confiscate and declare Ireland in its length and breadth to be the domain of the British Crown; they hang, quarter, and burn the Geraldines of the South; they hang the Burkes of the West at their own castle-gates; they assassinate and poison, when they cannot hang; they banish in the North the O'Neills and O'Donnells; and divide the lands of the Septs among the Protestant English and Scotch, who will venture to colonize them and promise to rid them of these "mere Irish." But the mere Irish, as if they were given back their souls and new energy by the mother-earth that had drunk up their blood, stand everywhere before the unjust invaders, like the incarnate Spirit of a Land which will not be the inheritance of the stranger.

"What shall we then say? or to what course shall we betake ourselves?" Sir Thomas Blennerhassett exclaims. The planters must build themselves fortified towns in well-selected positions, towns within supporting distance, and capable of furnishing each a thousand armed men in time of war, and five hundred armed cavaliers in time of peace. But wherefore in time of peace? Ah, here we have the key to the methods of extermination so mercilessly and perseveringly resorted to in order to effect this Plantation of Ulster.

"So there will be help on every side to defend and offend. For, as in England, if a privy watch be set, many malefactors are apprehended, even amongst their cups. So here when the spaces in the woods be cut out, and the bogs be made somewhat passable, then these new-erected Towns, intending a reformation, must often times at the first set a Universal great hunt, that a sudden search may be made in all suspicious places, *for the wolf and the* wood-kern, which being secretly and wisely appointed by the governors, they with the help of some Irish well acquainted with the holes and holds of their offenders, the generality shall search every particular place.

"For an example, the 4th day of March, the Lifford, the Omigh (Omagh), they in Fermanagh, Dongannon, and Coleraine, shall on that day send forth from every one of these places an hundred men; which five hundred men shall as then make search in all, or in all the most suspicious places: and by being at one instant dispersed with furniture fit for such business, they shall discover all the caves, holes, and lurking places of that country, even for an hundred miles compass. And no doubt it will be a pleasant hunt, and much prey will fall to the followers. For what doth escape some will fall to the hands of others, and bring such a terror that the wolf himself will not dare to continue his haunt, where such so sudden incursions shall be used, although it be but once a month: the charge none, the pleasure much, the profit more. Then may they make inclosures and venture their cattle abroad. . . . Then may they sow, mow, plant, thrive, and be merry. . . . And those good fellows in trowzes, I mean the everywhere dispersed creatures in the Creaghts, seeing this course, they will no longer hearken after change, nor entertain the lurking wood-kern, as now they do."

English and Irish writers of novels in our day have given us vivid descriptions of the fox-hunt in both kingdoms.

These gigantic "meets" to chase the wood-kern, much more than the wolf, afford a new and rich subject to that class who grow rich on "sensations." Describe each Hundred Cavaliers marching gaily forth from these famous Evangelical Cities of the North, with their Irish Guides, their wolf-dogs, and their bloodhounds, and such other "furniture" as may help to run down and kill the game to a certainty. From the point of rendezvous they spread over "a compass of a hundred miles," slaughtering . . . . shall we continue?

Unhappily, we have worse, far worse to narrate of English rule in Ireland during the 17th century; so, we pass on.

And were these the methods used "even in the fair calm of quiet," when the land was untroubled by war, to supplement the methods of extermination employed by the Lord Deputies, Lord Presidents, Lords Justices, and Lord Generals of Henry and Mary and Elizabeth? Better, however, let Sir Thomas Blennerhassett continue his own details of his precious system of successful plantation.

"Throughout all Ireland where there be forts and garrisons in pay, *if all those places were planted with this kind of undertaking*, and the old worthy soldiers . . . . were rewarded with fee simple thereof, ... their security would be much better and the society far excel, ... and all Ulster a hundred times better secured: for the generation of the Irish (*who do at this time increase ten to one more than the English, nay I might well say twenty*) will never otherwise be sufficiently bridled." . . . .

Certes, if the Irish did increase at all in the midst of the fearful ordeal they are undergoing, it must be due to some preternatural intervention. The "bridle" which the utmost might of England kept on the oppressed race, was a tighter and a more effective one than that devised by the Pharaohs and their people to restrain the Hebrews from waxing numerous and formidable. We do not read in Scripture of general "hunts" got up by the nobles of Memphis or Thebes to run down, capture, and slay without mercy the Hebrews. . . . Blennerhassett pleads eloquently for the erection in Lifford, the ancient seat of the O'Donnell's power, of a fortress capable of awing into submission the surrounding district. James I. was not slow to see the wisdom of such counsels; and in 1611, indeed within a few months after the presentation of this memoir, he took the most efficient measures for creating beneath the protection of the fortress a walled and corporate town, which he made one of the strongholds of the new religion. For religion was, outwardly at least, the great object for which the country was to be depopulated, first, and then repeopled by Protestants. "If the Lyfford," says the memorial, "and the lands adjoining near thereunto were undertaken by many, . . . they would not regard charge, nor be weary with labour and pains to frame a perpetual security and good success to their business. . . . I might say the like of Omigh (Omagh) and Dungannon, and of many such other places, *and so there would be instead of Popery, true religion,* and a comfortable society, whereas at this present there is small appearance and much defect (want) of them, and of all other the chiefest things to make the life of man happy, only plenty of good victual excepted."

It sounds like blasphemy to introduce religion into such an argument, and to pretend to make of the holiest of all interests a motive or a pretext for sanctioning or palliating these cold-blooded plans for exterminating an entire Christian population. The use of bloodhounds to capture fugitive slaves in Jamaica and the Southern States of our own country, was a means resorted to by some inhuman masters, and reprobated by the majority of slaveholders: the books of Mayne-Reid and Beecher-Stowe describe these hunts. But the pursuit, capture, mangling, and subsequent punishment of a poor *marroon* or runaway negro, although it makes the reader's blood boil with indignation, sinks into insignificance by the side of the gigantic battues proposed and executed by Thomas Blennerhassett and his compeers; and then to hear these blood-stained men talk of "true religion" and against "Popery"!

"Then proclaim," he continues, "and let all the inhabitants of spacious Britain know, that, in respect even of their own good, it is convenient and most necessary that every one of them should in some proportion put to his assistance. . . . with horse, with munition, and money, oftentimes, and ever anon to abate their insolency, whose pride sought to bereave from thee and them, your right and interest in her (Ulster's) fields and forests. . . . Do, then, and let thy people willingly finish their work. . . . County of Fermanagh, sometime Mac Guire's country, rejoice! Many Undertakers, all incorporated in mind as one, they there with their followers, seek and are desirous to settle themselves. Woe to the wolf and Wood-Kerne. . . . . Go on, worthy gentlemen, fear not, the God of Heaven will assist and protect you, the rather for that simply of yourselves, you do desire to perform so honourable an action." *

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* "History of Affairs in Ireland, 1641–52," vol. i., 317–27.

Some nine years pass; Thomas Blennerhassett and his two kinsmen settle down, each on the broad acres assigned to him. In an official report of 1618–19 from the Royal Commissioners, who kept a close eye on the Undertakers, it is said of the author of the memoir, that he had built himself a stately stone mansion seventy-five feet long, twenty broad, and two stories in height, surrounded by a "bawn" or court walled in and flanked by turrets. There is a church begun, a village of six houses, "built of cage-work, inhabited with English. . . . In toto seven families, who with their under-tenants can make . . . twenty-six men; but I saw them not; for the Undertaker and many of his tenants were absent."

On a second "proportion" of 1,000 acres belonging jointly to Thomas and Edward Blennerhassett, the reporter says: "there is nothing at all built, and all the land inhabited with Irish."

On the 1,500 acres belonging to Francis Blennerhassett, there is a strong and spacious family mansion, with a well-fortified bawn, a village of nine houses built in "cage-work." "The Undertaker was in England, and I came suddenly upon them. But by a Jury I found the land to have twenty-two British families upon it, which with their under-tenants were able to make forty men, and store of arms in the house, and *I saw not one Irish family upon all the land.*"

So where any member of the Blennerhassett family had fixed his abode, he had succeeded in exterminating or hunting out the "mere Irish."

As to the remnants of the aboriginal population whom it was found impossible to "root out" altogether from the soil, or whom sheer necessity compelled the planters to retain and employ,—what were the conditions on which they were permitted to till the land? The Undertakers,—men like the Blennerhassetts, were allowed to pick and choose what was best: they had to pay to the crown a yearly rental of six shillings and eight pence for every sixty acres,—a pretty heavy burthen at the beginning. The Servitors paid ten shillings for each sixty acres. But the native Irish, for the privilege of cultivating as tenants the lands which had belonged from time immemorial to their fathers,—had to pay thirteen shillings and four pence,—exactly the double of what the Undertakers had to pay. Moreover, both these and the Servitors were allowed to hold their lands rent-free for two years; but the Irish were only allowed to be one year free of rent!

The inveterate iniquity implanted by British legislation in the conditions on which land is held by tenant-farmers in Ireland, can only be understood by going back to these "plantations" or "settlements," in which Might wilfully ignored Right, violated all the dictates of natural Equity, and seemed to have but one great purpose in view:—either to make it impossible for the Catholic Celt to live on the land and by the land, or to render his existence more dependent and more precarious than that of the helot or the slave.

Sir John Davies, whose ability as a lawyer was chiefly employed in covering all this great scheme of wholesale wrong and spoliation with a thin varnish of legality, tells us that:

"The natives seemed not unsatisfied in reason, though they remained in their passions discontented, being much grieved to leave their possessions to strangers, which they had so long after their manner enjoyed; howbeit my Lord Deputy (Chichester) did so mix threats with entreaty—*precibusque minas regaliteraddit*—as they promised to give way to the Undertakers, if the Sheriff, by warrant of the Commissioners, did put them in possession." *

We know, happily, what such a man as Chichester could threaten. While Governor of Carrickfergus he had wasted the country through a circuit of thirty miles, burning the houses, slaughtering indiscriminately the inhabitants, destroying the harvest, and leaving not a living thing behind him. We know what he did and ordered to be done in Munster. We need not, therefore, inquire by what "threats" he enforced his "entreaties." He was given the 60,000 acres confiscated from Sir Cahir O'Dougherty; and the Strafford Papers tell us that he obtained "at one gift land worth at this day ten thousand pounds a year."

And so they settled Ulster.

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* Davies, "Tracts," 284.

Plantation and Extermination in Leinster.

While we are writing these chapters the "nobility and gentry" in Great Britain and Ireland are sorely distressed by the deep and widely-spreading agitation against landlordism and monarchical institutions. The rising tide of public opinion and popular power threaten the very existence of the entire land-holding organization, from the throne to the hereditary proprietor of one thousand or five hundred acres. Let them who see in all this but the unrighteous triumph of radicalism or socialism, reflect, while they yet have time, how the Kings of England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did so effectually and persistently the very work which is now threatened by the revolutionary forces let loose in England. Elizabeth, Mary, and James showed no respect for the rights of the Irish people, for the proprietary system in vigor among them for long ages before the dawn of Christianity. The possessions of the Irish Princes,—the O'Neills, O'Donnells, Mac Guires, O'Reillys (to name only a few of the Chieftains of one Province), were confiscated to the crown against the spirit and forms of the Constitutional and Common Law of England, and irrespective of the inalienable rights and loudly asserted claims of the Septs or Tribal Communities, the real owners of the soil. Celtic Irish and Anglo-Irish Nobles were alike driven into rebellion, into exile, or made away with systematically, and through the agency of low-born, unprincipled, and needy adventurers, who were, in every instance, raised by the Sovereign,—in conspiracy with them,—upon the ruins of their victims, and the lands of this Kingdom of Ireland divided between these adventurers, their soldiers, and all who would help by their money and their personal co-operation to "root out" the former owners of the land, and to repeople it anew. Surely the process was *radical, revolutionary,* and *unrighteous* enough. And now, that Irishmen, who have, through every species of trial and suffering that the more powerful can inflict upon the weaker, kept such hold of the land as they might, see the day of retribution coming apace,—will not the landed aristocracy of both countries, and those who have shared with them the spoils of a nation,—bethink them that WRONG was done; and *that it must be righted?*

Those who hold the throne of James I. and William III., as well as the heirs of the men to whom these Kings gave the inheritance of a people, must understand that the infinitely just and good God can never

> . . . . Authorize oppression; give a law
> For lawless power; wed faith to violation;
> On reason build misrule, or justly bind
> Allegiance to injustice.

The Plantation of Ulster was only the first successful essay made by James in his wide plan of Anglification. But between the straggling colonies in that northern province, and those which he was contemplating in Connaught as well as the cities of Munster, there intervened the northernmost counties of Leinster. These, although ravaged and depopulated by the Duke of Sussex under Mary, by every Lord Deputy almost who had come after him, and by the wars waged by the Irish chieftains among themselves and against the English of the Pale,—contained many favored wilds and fastnesses into which an army did not care to venture. There, contented with being free to follow their native customs and to practice their religion, shorn albeit of all outward state and splendor, grew up and multiplied what the sword and famine had spared of the Leinster Septs, with numerous bands of fugitives from Tyrone and Tyrconnell.

James was advised to "reform" and "regulate" these central counties, as he had the neighboring counties of Ulster. The historian Leland, who was interested in justifying the confiscation to the crown of all this territory, thus speaks of the motives which actuated the Sovereign and his Ministers:

"Naturally strong and difficult of access, they afforded, in the very heart of the island, a safe retreat and shelter to the old inhabitants, who were tenacious of their barbarous customs, nestling in their filthy cottages in winter, in summer wandering with their cattle over the desert mountains. Through these districts the Irish insurgents had usually passed from Connaught or Ulster to annoy the Pale. . . .

In time of peace they were the safe receptacle of robbers, where they defied the ministers of justice; and, surrounded with woods, bogs, and mountains, lived in a sort of independence, and contemptuous resistance to the law. To reduce these savages to subjection, inquisitions were held to examine the King's title to the whole or any part of their lands. It was found that some parts had been anciently possessed by English settlers, who, in the disorders of the kingdom, had been expelled by the old natives, and which were therefore vested in the Crown, as lands of absentees; others appeared to have been forfeited by rebellion. So that James deemed himself entitled to make a distribution of 385,000 acres in these counties, to such proprietors, and in such proportions, as might promote the general welfare and security, the extension of commerce, and the civility of the natives. The large portions regranted to the old inhabitants on permanent tenures, reconciled many to this new scheme of plantation." *

To Leland's apology for iniquity, coupled with aspersions on the Irish "savages" and their "barbarous" customs, we shall oppose the opinion of a living writer.

"James,"—says Mr. Walpole,—"was so pleased with the success of his plantation in Ulster, that he determined to apply the process of planting to the rest of Ireland. There had been no rising, no attempt at disturbance, so that the old excuse for confiscation was not available; *it was necessary to invent a system of plundering by process of law* to provide the wherewithal for the vain monarch to reconstruct the map of Ireland. 'A commission to inquire into defective titles' was sent down into those parts of the country with which it was determined to deal, to collect evidence as to the number and condition of the inhabitants and their lords, what rents were paid, and what and how estates were held; *and to inquire into the title which the Crown had to any part thereof.*"

So much for the impelling motive in this new campaign of spoliation. Now as to the districts marked out for the exterminators:

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* "History of Ireland," ii., 539.

"The countries which were still principally inhabited by the native Irish, were, first, the mountainous strip which runs from Dublin towards Wexford Haven, sloping to the sea upon the east, and comprising the counties of Wicklow and Wexford; secondly, the broad belt of low country, then largely consisting of bog and forest, which skirts the great chain of lakes and rivers lying between Sligo on the north and Lough Derg on the south, and comprises the counties of Leitrim and Longford, and the western portion of Westmeath, King's County, and Queen's County. These tracts were still occupied, the one by the tribes of Mac Murrough, O'Toole, and O'Byrne, and the other by those of O'Rourke, O'Farrel, O'Melaghlin, O'Molloy, O'Doyne, and McGilpatrick."

How can the Crown find a title against these possessors and proprietors of the soil, since God commanded the descendants of Noah to go forth and people the earth?

"It was gravely said that whereas these countries had been originally granted to English colonists in the days of the Plantagenets by the Crown, *which had no right to make the grant,* and these colonists had, in the evil days of the Anglo-Norman settlement, been driven from their land by the native owners, and had retired into England; and further, that by various statutes concerning absentees, the deserted lands had reverted to the King—the native tribes now in occupation had no prescriptive right by virtue of three hundred years' possession of what was after all their own property, and that the whole of the land was vested in James. Leitrim and Longford had been surrendered by the O'Rourke and O'Farrel of that day to Elizabeth, and subsequent acts of rebellion were sufficient to show the King's title in these cases, while Art Mac Murrough's indenture with Richard II. in 1394, was raked up to do duty for a title to Wexford."

All this seems incredible. But it is true, nevertheless. Let us follow the proceedings of English justice in the days which beheld King James' Bible come forth to illumine and civilize these islands.

"To give an appearance of legality to these iniquitous proceedings, juries were empanelled, *and forced to give verdicts in favor of* *the Crown; witnesses were compelled to give satisfactory evidence; and both jurors and witnesses,* if they had the boldness to withstand the pressure of the Crown lawyers, *were hauled before the Castle Chamber, imprisoned, pilloried, and branded.*" *

In very truth the Castle was the moving energy in all these transactions. The Dublin Officials knew how to play upon the King's inordinate vanity, and to hold out a bait to his insatiable greed in the plunder to be derived from these campaigns.

"Wherever land could be declared forfeit, so it went by every low trick and legal artifice that could be practised. It became a regular trade to pick holes in people's titles; every trifling flaw that could be hit upon was carefully noted. . . . One of the principal motives for these proceedings was the replenishing of the royal exchequer. If a flaw could be found in a man's title, he could be frightened into accepting a round sum by way of composition. If he refused, the land could be granted to some one else at an annual quit-rent, the enterprising 'projector' or 'discoverer' sharing the plunder with the King." AND SO THE GAME SPED MERRILY.

It is an interesting study to follow, throughout all the shifting and winding of their one-sided and most untruthful narrative, the apologist-historians of Royal Despotism, Official rapacity, and Protestant intolerance. The iniquity which is so closely allied with greed in all the administration of Chichester, as well as in those of Falkland and St. John, stands forth in such bold colors, that cloak it over as the writers will, it pierces the whole tissue of their discourse. "The scheme of plantation"—says Wright—"proceeded with all its errors and grievances, and these arose more from the way in which it was carried into effect, than from the scheme itself. The means taken to enforce the claims of the Crown were of the most arbitrary kind, and were often founded upon oppressive injustice. Men were deprived of lands which their ancestors had held through several generations, on pretence of some old resumption or forfeiture, because they had no written proofs of the regrant. Juries refusing to give a verdict for the Crown, were committed to the Castle Chamber, and punished with fine and imprisonment; *so that however weak its claims, the Crown was seldom disappointed of its prey.* Where titles were forthcoming, the slightest neglect in performing the conditions imposed on the possessors, even amid the turbulence of civil war, when the power of the Crown was confined within narrow limits, was construed into a breach of covenant, and was made a plea for forfeiture. A door was thus opened to a band of discoverers and informers, needy and unscrupulous adventurers, who made a profit of hunting over the records of the public offices, and seeking flaws in Irish titles, until nobody could feel secure in the possession of his own lands, and many agreed to pay large compositions for new grants rather than risk their property to the partial and constrained verdicts of juries. . . .

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* "The Kingdom of Ireland," 194-196.

"In the distribution of the lands, the King's directions were often neglected, as far as they related to provisions for the original proprietors, and the natives were deprived entirely of those possessions which were to have been reserved for them. Thus in the small county of Longford twenty-five members of one Sept were all deprived of their estates without any compensation, and were actually left without the means of subsistence. *Thus exposed to the avarice and rapine of foreign adventurers, the Irish, instead of being conciliated,* were hardened in the hatred they bore to their rulers."*

Surely, after all the solemn professions made in the King's name, and the hopes held out that all persons in Ireland would be considered only as the King's subjects, "and, as such, protected in all their rights and interests,"—this wholesale confiscation of the property of the native populations was only calculated to arouse the hatred that comes of the deepest wrong deliberately consummated in the teeth of repeated royal promises.

The Irish proprietors were cheated out of the miserable shreds set apart for them from their patrimonial estates, or the lands over which their fathers had ruled from time immemorial.

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* "Hist. of Ireland," i., 612.

This was not the only act of grievous oppression instead of promised justice which the Irish Catholics had to complain of at the King's hands, nor the worst breach of faith solemnly pledged. It would seem as if both King and Government only promised to lighten the intolerable yoke borne by the Irish Papist, to render it ten times heavier.

Here is another instance of the same systematic deception.

Be it borne in mind, that in the first years of his reign James proclaimed to all his subjects oblivion and pardon for all past acts of rebellion. In the packed parliament of 1613, where an illegal and fraudulent majority passed an act of attainder against the fugitive Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, and vested in the Crown the immense estates of these princes, or rather of the clans who had acknowledged them as chiefs,—they also introduced the famous "Act for the King's Majesty's most gracious general and free pardon." To this *general and free pardon*, however, there were fifty-one classes of exception, each class comprising four or five different sorts of offence, to which this 'most gracious general and free pardon' must not be extended. It was a cunningly—one might say, without exaggerating, a diabolically—devised scheme to bring within the laws of treason and forfeiture every single inhabitant of Ireland professing the Catholic religion and belonging either to the Celtic race or the "old English" stock.

The same grand process of disinheriting, dispossessing, outlawing, and "uprooting" of the old religion and the old race still invincibly clinging to it, after having *cleared the ground in Ulster*, must now be applied in Connaught and Leinster. Of course all these adventurers with whom Chichester had filled, for the King's purposes, the Parliament of 1613, were to have their share in the new distribution of 385,000 acres. And of course Chichester, to whom was to be entrusted the duty of devising a legal basis for this wholesale process of expropriation of the great and noble, of outlawry and extirpation for the laboring masses, was the man to direct, in conjunction with Wingfield, Archbishop Jones, Parsons, and Sir John Davies, the entire scheme from its germinal conception to its complete execution.

Davies, in speaking of this act of "General and Free Pardon," has the effrontery to write: "They passed an act of general indemnity for late crimes, with an exception of Tyrone, Tyrconnell, and O'Dougherty." And this act was of his own framing! Carte, who wrote later, misleads still more: "The session concluded with an act of oblivion and general pardon." And Leland, the eighteenth century apologist of these monstrous iniquities and base frauds perpetrated by Legislators and a King,—does not hesitate to say: "An act of general pardon and oblivion was made, in confirmation of the royal edict." *

The general research for titles, and the regranting to old proprietors their ancestral estates on the English tenure of fee simple, were the opening up a road to new confiscations and peculation which was to be followed up to the bitter end by the Lord Deputies of Charles I. It was all a cloak for spoliation.

Figures have a singular eloquence by affording at a glance the results of great economical operations. Let us see what were the proportions left to the People of Ireland in these two great Plantations of James I.

1.—*In Ulster.*

"The whole of the six counties which were confiscated contained about 2,836,837 Irish, or according to modern surveys in English measure, 3,785,057 acres. Of this four-fifths were barren or 'lean' land, and 511,465 Irish acres were valuable or 'fat' land. The bulk of the Irish were cleared from the fat land into the lean land; and the 511,465 acres were partly reserved for public purposes, and partly divided amongst fifty English and fifty-nine Scotch undertakers, sixty Servitors, two hundred and eighty-six natives of 'good merit,' and the London companies. The two hundred and eighty-six natives obtained only about one-tenth of the whole. The following table will show the way in which the land was apportioned :

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* "James exulted in the cunning with which he had on this occasion weathered the storm of Irish faction; and no sooner had the subsidy bill passed, than the Irish Parliament was suddenly and unexpectedly dissolved, leaving untouched several measures for the improvement of Ireland, which had been recommended to the consideration of government" (Wright, "Hist. of Ireland," vol. i. p. 610).

	ACRES.
English undertakers, 50 in number	81,500
Scotch undertakers, 59 in number	81,000
Servitors, 60 in number	49,914
Meritorious natives, 286 in number	52,279
London Guilds	61,437
Trinity College, Dublin	9,600
Bishops, deans and chapters	77,666
Glebes for parochial clergy	19,268
Free Schools	2,700
Corporate towns and forts	47,101
Several persons as abbey lands	21,552
Restored to certain individual Irishmen	7,448
Total	511,465

"The object of James was to introduce a thoroughly Protestant and anti-Irish element which should dominate the Roman Catholics and natives. The success of the Plantation was apparent in a few years, when Commissioners were sent down to inspect the progress which was being made." *

Of this progress we have had already some idea, as well as of the means taken to obtain it, in the recital of Thomas Blennerhassett and extracts from the Commissioners' Report.

2.—*In Leinster.*

The King, by the packed juries and forced verdicts described above, obtained a title to 66,800 acres in Wexford alone, and in the midland counties to no less than 385,000.

What became of the native proprietors and their people? They were cheated out of the small pittance allotted to them by a lingering sense of justice or shame in the King. The English officials in Ireland were well skilled in defeating every measure which was intended to benefit the Celt. There was no attempt at armed resistance; the spirit of the living generation had been broken by a succession of disasters,—as bathers on the beach are overwhelmed and prostrated by the swift rollers pouring in on them without intermission.

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* "Kingdom of Ireland," pp. 184, 185.

"Many of the old proprietors who were removed from their lands betook themselves to the woods and an outlaw's life. Agrarian outrages began to occur 'when the nights grew darker and the winter came on.' The Lord Deputy, St. John, the successor of Chicester, endeavored to hunt down the expelled land owners, and boasts of having exterminated *three hundred* of them in three years, though he adds 'when one sort is cut off others arise in their places, for the countries are so full of the younger sons of gentlemen who have no means of living and will not work, that when they are sought to be punished for disorders they commit in their idleness, they go to the woods to maintain themselves by the spoil of their quiet neighbors.'

"In the mean time Sir Richard Boyle, the Lord Chancellor, who had got possession of Sir Walter Raleigh's extensive grants of land in Munster, had been making a most methodical plantation on his own account at Tallow. It was an armed colony of 522 men: 'horsemen,' 'pikemen,' and 'shot-furnished'; every one was a sound Protestant; villages were planned, and schools and churches built for their accommodation. The Company of East India merchants also planted three colonies near Dundaniel, on the coast of County Cork, where they started iron works, and constructed a dock, and built 'offices, houses, smiths' forges, and other storehouses.' So plentiful and so fine was the timber, growing even to the water's edge, that the shipbuilding trade grew apace. 'Two ships of 400 and 500 tons apiece' were launched in the spring of 1613."

The very first buds of such commercial or industrial enterprise were sure to be nipped by English jealousy. But, considering the powerlessness of the expropriated and outlawed Irish, and the enterprise of these English and Scotch colonists, backed by all the power of England, is it not a wonder that a single Papist or a single Celt was allowed to survive in Ireland?

One's soul grows wearied and sick in reading, even in Protestant historians, the record of such shameless wrong-doing. However, as the effects of all this injustice still remain, it is but right to show by one example at least, how the Harpies of Dublin Castle managed, despite the reiterated decision of the King to the contrary, and the clearest legal evidence, to strip a Celtic family of their inheritance. Carte, the biographer of the Duke of Ormonde, quotes at length the case of the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, which came up while James was putting into execution his scheme for the plantation of Leinster.

The Commissioners appointed by James to examine into titles in Wicklow, as well as the other counties of Leinster, reported that Pheagh Mac Hugh O'Byrne had forfeited his estates in the rebellion of 1577, but had been pardoned by Elizabeth, who directed the then Lords Justices Loftus and Gardiner to make out letters-patent for the O'Byrne's eldest son, Phelim, granting him and his heirs all his father's estates. King James gave a like direction. But the officials in Dublin had been careful never to carry out these orders. A second time King James ordered that letters-patent should be issued granting the estates to the O'Byrne family.

Just then a conspiracy was entered into by Sir William Parsons, Sir Richard Graham, Sir James Fitz Gerald, Sir Henry Bellings, and Lord Esmond, for the purpose of getting these estates into their own hands. Parsons was then Surveyor General, and at the bottom of all the iniquities perpetrated in measuring the lands of the new plantations, securing to himself, besides enormous bribes in money, a large share of the lands declared to vest in the Crown.

A charge was lodged by the Conspirators before the Lords Justices and the Privy Council against Phelim O'Byrne and his five sons, accusing them of treasonable correspondence with the outlawed Cavenaghs. On March 13, 1625, Bryan O'Byrne, the oldest son, and his brother Turlogh were committed close prisoners to Dublin

Castle, upon the information, real or fictitious, of three of the Cavenagh Sept. Meanwhile Sir William Parsons obtained from the Lord Deputy Falkland a warrant to the Sheriff of Wicklow, to put him in possession of a part of the O'Byrne lands, that were actually held by Phelim. One Thomas Archer, on whose testimony at the trial much reliance was placed, was a very unwilling witness. The Cavenaghs were known to be worthless fellows, whom O'Byrne had punished for old misdemeanors, and they testified willingly enough. But Parsons and his friends on the Bench attached the utmost importance to the statements expected from Archer. He, however, could not or would not inculpate the O'Byrnes. "He was first miserably tortured, put naked on a burning gridiron, then on a brand iron, and burned with gunpowder under his flanks, and at last suffered the strapado till he was forced to accuse the two brothers; and then he obtained his pardon. Dermot Mac Griffin and Cahir Mac Art (two of the three Cavenagh witnesses) were afterwards executed at Kilkenny, declaring at the hour of death that they had accused Bryan and Turlogh O'Byrne falsely. Such were the witnesses that deposed against them; yet on their information two bills were preferred against them, and two several grand juries at Catherlogh, not finding the bills, were prosecuted in the Star-Chamber, and fined."

A fresh indictment was preferred at the Wicklow assizes. This time Parsons and his confederates took care to have the Grand Jury well packed with the undertakers of the neighborhood, men all interested in rooting out the O'Byrnes. This time also, the father, Phelim O'Byrne, and his other three sons were included in the indictment.

One of the principal witnesses, another Cavenagh, was held in prison by Lord Esmond till the assizes were near at hand. "He sent this man to Dublin to accuse Phelim and his sons, *which the threats of being hanged, and the promise of life and pardon, prevailed with him to do.*" Two other Cavenaghs were made use of for the same purpose. "One Nicholas Notter, a notorious thief, had been prosecuted so hard by Phelim for stealing seven cows and five garrons from his tenants that he was forced to fly the county of Wicklow. But being afterwards condemned for a robbery in the North, he was sent back to Dublin to purchase his life by accusing Phelim and his sons; for which he was likewise rewarded with apparel and other necessaries."

None of these witnesses dared to appear in court. Their examinations, or what purported to be such, were read to the Jury. Their testimony had been interpreted by two of the conspirators, Bellings and Graham. Lord Esmond had his own nephew, who was also a tenant of Sir William Parsons, appointed High Sheriff to conduct these proceedings. The foreman of the Grand Jury was Sir James Fitz Gerald, another confederate, and a mortal enemy of Phelim O'Byrne. With him sat Sir Henry Bellings. The rest were men of straw, dependants and creatures of the conspirators.

Of course a true bill was found. Two days after this Phelim's wife died of grief at the dreadful prospect before her husband and her family. Other witnesses were now required for the trial of the parties. Bellings and Sir Richard Graham's son, being provost-marshals, undertook to press all the witnesses they needed into the service. "'Tis almost incredible," says Carte, "what a number of persons they took up and detained in close prison for weeks and months together, soliciting them all the while with promises of reward and threats of hardships, even of death itself, to accuse the gentlemen whose inheritance they wanted to seize. Some they put to the rack, others they tried and condemned by martial law, at a time when the courts of justice were sitting. Some of the latter were executed at Dublin, as Shane O'Toole, Laghlin O'Clune, Cahir Glasse and his brother, declaring at their death, in the hearing of thousands, that they were executed because they could not accuse Phelim and his sons, and the like declarations were made by others who suffered in the country." *

The scandal was so great that it excited public opinion even in

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* Carte, vol. i., p. 27.

England, and the King sent over a commission to inquire into the facts of the case. The inquiry fully established the truth of what we have said, and the innocence of the O'Byrnes. Thereupon, they were set at liberty (in 1628); but "not restored to their estates," says Carte, "a considerable part whereof, particularly the manor of Carrick in the Ranelaghs, had been during their imprisonment passed to Sir William Parsons by a patent dated August 4th, 1629."

"Their estates," says Mr. Walpole, "covering half the county of Wicklow, of which during the prosecution Parsons and Esmond had been put in possession by the sheriff of Wicklow, were not restored to them, and the plot in that respect was eminently successful."*

Writing this page in Dublin, in the beginning of 1885, while the facts of the Maamtrasua murder trials, and those connected with the Phœnix Park murders, are still passionately discussed in the Three Kingdoms, as well as in the Greater Britain and Greater Ireland beyond the seas,—we ask ourselves if the methods of criminal justice, as it is administered in the reign of Queen Victoria, under the direction of Dublin Castle, differ so very much from those pursued under the two first Stuarts?

If the Irish People are tenacious in their faith in Catholicism and in the Resurrection of Ireland, and tenacious as well in holding on to the land of their birth,—Dublin Castle and the men who support it in England are strangely tenacious in holding on to their traditional infamy.

And so, under James, the men who ruled Ireland continued to sow the wind.

Two, at least, of these, will live long enough to reap the whirlwind. Unfortunately, neither they nor their households were to perish in the storm they raised. And the prosperity of such men was not one of the least trials which the religious faith of the persecuted Irish had to endure. As both of them were conspicuous among the English fortune-hunters who found an El Dorado in Ireland at the beginning of the 17th century, by giving a brief sketch of their career, we shall throw a bright side-light on the monstrosities of English misrule in Ireland at that memorable epoch. The two men are, Richard Boyle, afterward Earl of Cork, and that William Parsons, whose name occurs on the preceding page.

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* "Kingdom of Ireland," p. 201.

Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork.

The real character of this great Master in Rascality was first brought to the knowledge of the British public and the scholars of both hemispheres, in the Congress of British Archæologists at Canterbury, in 1844. The revelation was made by Mr. Crofton Croker, and was founded on original documents in the collection of Sir William Betham.

"Half the peerage of Ireland," says Mr. Walpole, "at the time of the Union was composed of persons whose ancestors had come to Ireland as fortune-hunters after the Elizabethan wars. . . . . Of the new nobility which sprung up at this time and swamped the old nobility of the Pale the most remarkable was Richard Boyle, 'the great Earl of Cork.' He was the son of a Herefordshire squire, a man of very considerable ability, but utterly unscrupulous. Having found it advisable to absent himself from England, by reason, as his enemies say, of his 'forgeries, rasings, and perjuries,' or because, as he himself puts it, 'it pleased divine Providence to lead him into Ireland,' he arrived in Dublin in 1588, with little else in the world but two suits of clothes, a diamond ring, a gold bracelet, and £27 3*s.* in money. He managed to wriggle himself into the office of deputy-escheator of the lands of Munster, under cover of which, by a series of frauds, he became possessed of a considerable extent of the forfeited estates. He was twice indicted for felony, and committed to prison in Dublin six times in five years; but by his adroitness, and the skilful use of bribes, succeeded in cheating justice, and becoming secretary to Sir George Carew."

But we must not let this successful villain down from the pillory, till we have said something more explicit about these methods so skilfully employed to get into his possession the immense extent of landed property, still in possession of the family founded by him in Ireland.

"Some tracts of escheated lands," says Wright, "he appropriated to himself, and made no return of it to the Queen. Where men came over from England with grants of Irish lands, he threw so many difficulties in their way by power given him by his office, that they were at last glad to sell him their grants for a trifling sum of money. Some of these particular charges are worth quoting, as showing the reckless manner in which the plunder and confiscation of the Irish lands were at this time carried on. One Henry Deane, who was a principal witness against Boyle, deposed that an Englishman named John Rawson came with letters from England, ordering him to be rewarded with a lease of £20 of land for twenty-one years 'wherever it might be found in Ireland.' When Rawson arrived in Ireland, he soon found himself among a heap of sharpers, and learnt that there was nothing to be done without giving some of them a share in his profits. He accordingly addressed himself to Deane, and gave him one-half of his grant of lands, on condition that he should forward his business, and share equally in the payment of fees.

"They then applied to Boyle, as deputy-escheator, to obtain the fulfilment of their grant, and it remained with him to particularize the lands which were to pass under this nominal rent of £20. Thus left to his discretion, they were not only offered lands of very small value, but the deputy-escheator 'asked £160 to make up the offices and return, otherwise he would lay such heavy rent upon survey, as it should not be worth six-pence to them.' Rawson and Deane, 'finding this extremity,' and perceiving that they lay entirely at Boyle's mercy, sold him their lease for a small sum of money. The grant was still blank as to the lands which were to be granted, and Boyle having now obtained it for his own use, filled it up with a fine estate in Connaught, 'inserting in the particular *ninety-three plough-lands, three quatrons of land, three parsonages, and ten castles and water-mills* for the same twenty pound rent per annum, and hath gotten a lease in reversion thereof at the same rent for many years.' It was further deposed that 'one Mr. Tath obtained a letter from her majesty to have a lease of £30 per annum, which letter Boyle bought, as himself hath confessed, and thereupon at very small rates and undervalues hath passed all O'Connor Roe's country, who has since become a rebel. His country thus passed away is about ten miles long and six broad, of the best land in those parts. Boyle hath confessed to this examinate and others at sundry times, and namely to one Richard Leman, that he had in Connaught three hundred and sixty ploughlands and thirty-eight parsonages.' . . .

"From the circumstantial form in which these charges were made," says Wright, "and the equivocal manner in which some of them were denied, we can hardly doubt that they were substantially true. They show us how the 'New English,' who repaired to Ireland at the end of the sixteenth century, made their fortunes, and we cannot be surprised at the hostile feelings between them and the old landowners and their tenants." *

'Hostile feelings,' indeed ! How was it possible that, humanly speaking, any but the most intense hatred should be created in the souls of the oppressed ? while, as human nature also teaches us, no one hates more bitterly than the wrong-doer himself.

"This accomplished swindler was also, as one might expect, a consummate hypocrite. 'God having blest him with a reasonable fortune and estate,' he piously says in his memoir, his new patron, the President of Munster, increased his fortune still further. He advised and assisted him to advance money to the amount of £1,500 to Sir Walter Raleigh on the security of his vast grant of land (42,000 acres) in Cork and Waterford. The mortgage was foreclosed, and Raleigh's widow and children afterwards complained, in a fruitless petition to the Crown, that the estates had been 'juggled away.' Carew introduced him to Sir Geoffrey Fenton, the Queen's surveyor-general, whose daughter he married; and he knighted him on the

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* "Hist. of Ireland," vol. i., pp. 618-620.

day of his wedding. Protected by Carew, Essex, and Cecil, with all of whom he was careful to ingratiate himself, he escaped the reward of his misdeeds, and was successively created Baron Youghal, Viscount Dungarvan, Earl of Cork, and a privy councillor."*

Sir William Parsons.

This is one of the blackest names among the bold, bad men who have been the curse of Ireland. He came to Ireland about the same time as Richard Boyle; but rose from a lower origin. He could barely read and write, succeeded in getting, like Boyle, into the escheator's office in Dublin, laid the foundation of his fortune by arts not unlike those of his worthy compeer, married a niece of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, and, in 1602, succeeded him as Surveyor-General. He was one of the Commissioners for the escheated lands in Ulster, obtaining 1,000 acres in Tyrone, afterward increased to 1,890, and 2,000 acres in Fermanagh. In Wicklow, by the infamous conspiracy mentioned above, he secured above 8,000 acres. He amassed an enormous fortune; and together with the Earl of Cork, labored hard, and successfully, to prepare all things in Ireland for the insurrection of 1641.

"Another class of persons who made their fortunes at this time were clergymen. A newly ordained youth, like Adam Loftus or Dr. Jones, would come over as chaplain to the Lord Deputy, and quickly be pushed into a deanery, or a bishoprick, and living comfortably at Dublin, draw his large income, which he invested in land. Others leased out the Church-lands, and took large fines for renewals, or secured long leases of Church-lands to themselves at low rents. More than one ample estate was put together in this fashion, and more than one family founded which will be found in the Peerage of Ireland.

"It was at this time and in this way that the new English interest became developed. The new adventurers hung together and intermarried with each other. . . . They were essentially strangers in the land, who felt that they had gone in for a good speculation, and who would have to do their uttermost to maintain their position. At the same time they knew that they must have England at their back, and so they studiously cultivated the English Government, and supplanted the old Anglo-Irish families in the favor and good will of the deputies. They were the embryo of the 'Protestant Ascendancy' of the eighteenth century." *

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* "Kingdom of Ireland," p. 205.

The Plantation of Connaught Conceived.

Of the religious grievances we have as yet said nothing: they demand a separate chapter. But James, as he grew old, grew more needy, and eagerly grasped at every scheme which could bring him money. He also grew more vain with age. And, as plantations were his hobby, he sought to extend them to the rest of Ireland. Quite an army of veteran officials—the worn out tools of a long series of oppressions and spoliations,—were pensioned on the Irish treasury. But the Irish treasury was never known to contain money. Land or plunder were the only coin with which public services were paid. James was advised to discontinue the payment of that multitude of Irish pensions. But he dared not. His authority in Ireland was only felt where it killed and confiscated, and divided the spoils. Where it was directed towards restraining or despoiling its own servants, it found itself utterly powerless. The corporate towns and the cities, the strongholds of the English power in Ireland, had been given large landed estates. It was suggested to James to resume these grants, and bestow them anew on the payment of a large sum in each case. But here, also, the royal greed was baffled; and the project was abandoned at the first show of a determined opposition.

Then loomed up before the eyes of the weak-minded old man the grand scheme of claiming for the Crown all the lands of Connaught. A first regranting, according to the forms of English law, of the landed estates of this province, had occurred under the administration of Sir John Perrot. But the clerks took good care not to register the new titles. For these clerks were, at the time, men of the conscientious metal of Richard Boyle and his associates in scientific villany. In the thirteenth year of his reign James discovered this fatal defect of formality in the Connaught title-deeds, and claimed the estates for the Crown. Of course, the newly-born and fully-fledged brood of vultures, called 'discoverers,' were welcome aids ready to James' hand. The re-granting of these lands brought a handsome sum to the King's coffers, without counting the profits reaped by the informers and the registry officials. A second time, whether those high in office were or not cognizant of the fact, *the titles were not registered.* And a second time, a King who knew not what shame was, enacted over again the same comedy of oppressive peculation.

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* "Kingdom of Ireland," p. 207.

Then came the design of confiscating all the lands of Connaught and replanting them with Protestant Scotch and English, as had been done in Ulster, and, indeed, in the other two provinces of Leinster, and Munster. These projects seem so strange to men of this late 19th century, and all these proceedings and the wholesale injustice and misery they involve, appear so monstrous to a generation accustomed to the reign of law and a well-ordered liberty, that one is bewildered on reading of them.

James died before he could put this last pet scheme of his into execution, and Connaught with all Ireland fell to the rule of Charles I., of Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, and of Cromwell.

2. *Charles I.* (*1625-1649*).

Whatever may have been the humanitarian motives entertained by James I. in the plantation of Ulster and Leinster, or how much soever he may have deserved for these achievements the praise of Hume, certain it is that the "civilizing" of the Irish had nothing to do with his scheme for extending the plantation system to Connaught. It was simply conceived as a device for squeezing money out of the landed proprietors.

The Commissioners sent over to Ireland in the last years of his reign, were to examine into the state of the revenue, and to inquire into the state of the incorporated towns. These had, at their foundation, received extensive grants of land on the condition of building and keeping in good repair the bridges, walls, and fortifications in each borough. The Commissioners were to discover if these conditions had been kept. If not, the King was to resume the corporation lands, and each town, on receiving the charter back with these lands, was to pay a fine of £50,000. The resistance provoked by the first intimation of carrying out this scheme was so violent, that the King did not dare to pursue it.

The western province promised to be a more successful field of speculation. We have seen that Sir John Perrot had induced the Connaught landlords, under Elizabeth, to grant the Queen an annual cess, or stipulated sum for the maintenance of the army, instead of quartering the troops upon the people. They had, at the same time, surrendered their lands to the Crown, and received them back on new titles. These titles, for one reason or another, had not been duly registered, nor had the new patents been taken out. The "Discoverers" of James' time saw in this a rich gold vein to be worked, and the King was but too glad of the discovery. In 1616 there was, all through Connaught, a fresh surrender, and a second re-grant of titles. The patents were made out and received the impress of the great seal. But the offices in Dublin which had produced such apt proficients in knavery and fraud as Boyle and Parsons, knew better than to register these patents, although £3,000 had been paid by the patentees for the enrollment.

So James, in his last years, and his extreme need of money, either discovered or remembered, or was reminded by the sharpers of Dublin Castle, that the registration had never taken place. Here was a glorious opportunity for the resuming by the Crown of all the Lands of Connaught, and of replenishing anew the exchequer, which was as insatiable as the maw of Niagara. What cared James that he, the King who had been paid for these same patents, had himself signed them and sealed them with his royal seal,—was bound in honor to see the omitted formality fulfilled at length, as became a royal contract in which a King's faith is pledged? James was by nature a trickster, a shuffler, a liar, and a fraud; and now he wanted money and would have it.

There was great and just indignation among the landlords of Connaught. They knew it was useless to protest against the wrong or the flagrant dishonesty of the proceeding threatened by the Sovereign. They appeased the royal greed for the moment by offering to double the annual cess, and to pay into the exchequer a sum equivalent to what the King would receive if the plantation were carried out in the way proposed.

At this point the King died; leaving to his successor to make what he could out of the Plantation of Connaught. And Charles I. was too much of his father's son, not to appreciate the golden opportunity and make the most of it in his own good time. He was sure, whenever he chose to undertake a Plantation Campaign, to have at his beck an army of well equipped "discoverers" and adventurers.

"The general result of the plantation policy," says Mr. Walpole, "was to flood Ireland with a host of needy Englishmen and Scotchmen, who looked upon the country as a grand field for enterprising persons with slender means. The colonists in Ulster were in a great measure the scum of both nations,—debtors, bankrupts, and fugitives from justice. Shoals of land-jobbers and land-speculators came over to obtain a share in the general division. The hangers-on of the Castle, the conforming lawyers, the poor relations of the Council of State, became large landowners and country gentlemen, and were put into the commission of the peace. Every act of spoliation was carried out under the protection of the law; every legal form and legal step was strictly adhered to with a surprising ingenuity which makes the account of the most unfair and arbitrary acts read like a narrative of strict but inevitable justice. . . . The penniless adventurer, having become possessed of acres, frequently by means which would not bear the light of day, was promptly made a country magistrate, and often elevated to the peerage. . . . He became a small despot in his own part of the country, having very considerable control over the liberties of his neighbors. . . . The institution of a local magistracy . . . was a local tyranny in Ireland, where the large landowner had it all his own way." *

Charles I., on ascending the throne, found an empty exchequer. When one reads, in the pages of Macaulay, of the hideous scenes of drunken debauchery which disgraced the court of his aged parent, one can guess readily what became of the revenues derived from Ireland, both by the confiscation and plantation schemes, and by the Discovery of Titles for the King and the regranting estates to their owners. Charles was too needy and too unscrupulous a king to have the titles regranted by his father registered faithfully as had been promised. This would have deprived himself of too tempting an opportunity to tread in the devious but profitable paths followed by James.

"A deputation from the principal nobility and gentry in Ireland waited on the King, and offered a voluntary contribution of £120,000, to be paid in three years, in return for the concession of civil and religious liberty. The concessions to be made were reduced into writing, and were comprised in fifty-one articles; they were denominated 'Graces,' and were in the nature of a 'petition of right.' The substance of them was, that the King's title to land should not be set up where the owner had had sixty years' possession. The surrenders in Connaught were to be enrolled without payment of further fees. The Connaught landlords were to be confirmed in their estates by statute, and a parliament for effecting that object was shortly to be summoned. All undertakers were to be allowed an extension of time for the fulfilment of their covenant. The extortion practised by the Court of Wards was to be restrained, as also was the oppressive levying of the King's taxes by means of the soldiery. The jurisdiction of the Court of Castle Chamber—the Irish Star Chamber

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* "Kingdom of Ireland," p. 203.

—in private causes was to be restricted; and the testimony of convicted and condemned felons was to be refused where the liberty of the subject was concerned. Recusants were to be allowed to practise in the courts of law, and sue the livery of their lands out of the Court of Wards, an oath of civil allegiance being substituted for the Oath of Supremacy, while the clergy were to be prohibited from committing the 'contumacious' to their own private prisons.

"Such was the very reasonable liberty asked for by the leading men of Ireland, which—it is hardly too much to say—if Charles had honestly conceded it, would have reduced the Rebellion of 1641 to a local rising without a prospect of success."*

This rebellion contributed not a little to cost Charles his crown and his head;—but he began by walking in crooked ways, and they led him to the precipice. His duplicity, his greed, his despotic temper, blended inseparably together in one fatal strand from the beginning of his reign till its end, drove the Irish Catholics to despair by making promises which he never meant to keep, by letting loose on them all the forces of religious fanaticism and all the agencies of political oppression, at the very time he gave his word to restrain them.

No one, who reads even superficially the history of the administration of Ireland during his reign, but will say, that the Irish were driven to rebel against Castle Rule and Religious Intolerance by an uninterrupted series of acts of oppression, scarcely paralleled in the reign of Elizabeth.

So, the motive which led to promise "the Graces," also led to defer the Plantation of Connaught.

Let us follow Charles I. on his course, sowing as he goes along the seeds of political and social revolution, the seeds out of which is to spring the bane of Ireland, the death, almost, of the Nation.

The Irish Catholics, oppressed and impoverished as they were by all the machinery constructed by the Reformation to crush them or to crush gold out of them, held forth to the needy King the promise of supplying him with a voluntary subsidy, if he would only stop the terrible grinding of the Penal Laws against Recusancy, and the peculations of the army of officials and adventurers who preyed upon the land; if they could only practise freely their religion, and have security for the possession of their lands, their homes, and their lives.

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* "Kingdom of Ireland," p. 213.

Charles gladly, greedily accepted the offer; and in return (1626) pledged his royal word to grant them the relief they demanded. This relaxation of various laws, by virtue of the royal prerogative, was called "the graces." Moreover, in 1625, Charles had begun his reign by raising to the number of 5,000 effective men his army in Ireland, and by quartering these troops on the disaffected counties and chief towns of Ireland, each district to be responsible for the maintenance of the force thus sent to it. It was a heavy burthen to bear for a country without industry, commerce, or currency of its own, and its surface ravaged and wasted by a succession of savage wars. The people protested, and almost revolted: "they only remained quiet because they were told by the Lord Deputy that their submission should be rewarded ultimately by some substantial acts of grace and indulgence." These promises gave new courage to the Popish party, who hoped to extort from the King's necessities an exemption from the penal statutes, while many were anxious to profit by the opportunity in procuring relief from the apprehensions excited by the recent inquisitions into their titles to their estates. Charles extricated himself from his difficult situation with regard to his two classes of subjects in Ireland, by that habitual duplicity which ended with bringing him to the scaffold.

"At a great meeting of the principal nobility and gentry in the Castle of Dublin, in which the Catholics were in a very great majority, they made an offer to Lord Falkland of large contributions for the uses of the State, in exchange for security for their lands and a suspension of the penal statutes." *

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* Wright, "Hist. of Ireland," vol. i., p. 615.

There is, as we know too well, such a thing as garbled testimony in grave historical writing, just as there is in the witness-box. The historian whom we here quote has an inveterate habit of so suppressing the whole truth, or so mixing up truth with falsehood, or of so casting doubt over the plainest evidence, that the prejudiced reader is confirmed in his prejudices, and the candid reader is led astray by his statements. In his pages "the Catholics"—as he very rarely condescends to call his "Papists" or "popery party"—are represented as forthwith acting as if the "graces" had already been granted, and exhibiting their exultation "in a form calculated to be most offensive to their opponents. Their conduct alarmed the Protestant clergy in general, and excited the utmost indignation of the large body of Puritans, who were now settled in Ireland. The excitement became general; and Archbishop Usher (he now ruled the see of Armagh) called a meeting of the prelates to deliberate on the danger to which the Protestant church in Ireland was exposed by the concessions to Popery meditated by the civil power. After due consideration and debate, they put their names to a protest in which they declared that:

"'The religion of the Papists is superstitious and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical; their Church, in respect of both, apostatical. To give them, therefore, a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion and profess their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin,—and that in two respects: for, first, it is to make ourselves accessory not only to their superstitions, idolatries, and heresies, and, in a word, to all the abominations of Popery, but also (which is a consequence of the former) to the perdition of the seduced people, which perish in the deluge of the Catholic Apostacy. Secondly, to grant them a toleration in respect of any money to be given or contribution to be made by them, is to set religion to sale, and with it the souls of the people whom Christ hath redeemed with His blood. And as it is a great sin, so is it also a matter of dangerous consequence: the consideration whereof we commit to the wise and judicious, beseeching the God of truth to make them who are in authority zealous of God's glory, and of the advancement of true religion, zealous, resolute, and courageous against all Popery, superstition, and idolatry.'

"This remonstrance," the historian goes on to say, "made a deep impression in England, and is said to have had a considerable effect in retarding any agreement between the agents of the Irish recusants and the King. The insolence of the Papists in Ireland, and the effrontery with which they exercised their rights (rites?) in public. were looked upon with intense apprehension, and became subjects of reprehension even in Parliament, which complained of the open encouragement given to Papistry in the Sister Island, where, it was stated, monasteries were being newly built, and filled with monks and nuns." *

We give the comments of the chronicler in his own words. They are as eloquent of the bitter and fanatical spirit which fills his own breast, as the remonstrance drawn up by Usher, and signed by himself and his brother-bishops of the Church by law Established, is an eloquent monument of the intolerance with which Irish Catholics were pursued in the land of their birth, even at a period in which Clarendon says: "The whole nation generally speaking enjoyed an undisturbed exercise of their religion."

In the month of May, 1628, the King sent to the Lord Deputy and Council his answer, conceding the "graces" demanded, and instructing them to act accordingly. A parliament was called for the purpose of giving the concession the form of law; but a formality was omitted in the convocation, which had the effect of invalidating the act passed to sanction the graces. It was easy for the King to correct the error; it was incumbent on him to redeem his honor pledged to make these "graces" a reality. He had received the money promised him by the Catholics. And yet he allowed the English Privy Council to declare the act passed by the Irish Parliament to be null and void. His subsequent conduct proved that he was glad to be thus rid of the obligation he had accepted.

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* Wright, "Hist. of Ireland," p. 616.

On April 1, 1629, Lord Falkland, the Deputy, issued a proclamation suppressing altogether the public exercise of the Catholic religion, and prohibiting all its ministers from "celebrating their service in any church, chapel, or other public oratory or place whatever, or to teach any school, in any place or places whatsoever within the said Kingdom. And we do further charge and command" (the document proceeded) "all and singular the owners of such houses of friars, colleges, monasteries, schools, oratories, mass-houses, and nunneries, that they, and every of them respectively, in default of the persons before-named, their voluntary relinquishing of the said houses, . . . upon pain to have their said houses seized upon to his Majesty's use; and both the one and the other to be proceeded against for their unlawful assemblies, and maintenance of such unlawful conventicles, and corrupt nurture of children, in the severest manner that by the laws and statutes of this Kingdom and ecclesiastical government of the same, may be had or extended." *

Lord Falkland's administration was not vigorous enough to please the Parliamentary Party in both countries, especially the army of officials in Ireland who throve on the substance of the disfranchised and persecuted Catholics. He was recalled, and the government of the kingdom committed to the Lords Justices, Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, and Adam Loftus, Viscount Ely. No fitter types of the reckless adventurer class, grown to wealth and power on the ruins of the country, than these two men. No more willing tools could be found for the Calvinistic School, already risen to prepotency in both countries, and bent on the extirpation of Popery and Papists, than were these two men, as their acts have too well shown. It fared ill with the Irish Catholics.

At length, in 1632, Charles sent to Ireland, as Lord Deputy, the celebrated Lord Wentworth, afterward better known as Earl of Strafford. The King found that the "Graces" stirred the Protestant heart to its deepest depths of bitterness in both countries. Went-

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* Rushworth, "Historical Collection," ii. 21.

worth was the man to do away with them, while managing to make the Catholics pay up to the last shilling the subsidies promised in return for these "graces." He was also the man,—if indeed such a man could be found,—to make the legions of officials commanded by Boyle and Loftus cease plundering the people at the expense of the Royal Exchequer. Thenceforward the plunder must go to the King. Wentworth was also determined to work out to good purpose the twofold scheme of James I. in his last years, to revoke all the proprietary titles in Ireland, and to plant Connaught with English Protestants. The Lords Justices had suggested to the King the strict enforcement of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. These, the latter especially, as we have seen, were happy inventions for obtaining possession of men's property, and of draining their revenues. Wentworth, acting upon the King's instructions, set in motion all the machinery of these two Acts throughout the Kingdom. The Irish were filled with consternation; but the Lord Deputy profited by the first moment of alarm to enter into secret negotiations with them. "The instrument I employed," he writes, "was himself a papist, and knows . . . . that I do this privately, in favour and well-wishing, to divert the present storm, which else would fall heavily on them all (the Papists), being a thing framed and prosecuted by the Earl of Cork." Thus, by threats and cajolery, the Catholics were induced to grant a new subsidy. This success, however, was gained by the new Lord Deputy before he had as yet left England.

When he did appear in Dublin, he was accompanied by Bramhall, a creature of Archbishop Laud's. This at once set against him the entire body of the Irish Established Church, as well as the Lords Justices, and Sir William Parsons, Master of the Court of Wards,—the most influential personages in Ireland. This sentiment of distrust was speedily turned to aversion and hostility by the affected contempt with which the Lord Deputy treated, on his arrival, the entire Privy Council. They readily assented to all measures that could compel Catholics to contribute money toward the expenses of the local government and the replenishing of the royal exchequer.

A key to this unsparing tyrant's conduct is given by Wright:

"Lord Wentworth proceeded to Ireland with the resolution to treat and govern it on the principle that it was a conquered country, and that there at least the power of the Crown was absolute, and dependent on no rights or liberties of the subject. He looked upon the population of the Island as men who had forfeited their civil rights."

He convened a parliament in spite of the Privy Council, violating the customs and privileges both of the Council and the Lords of the Pale. He packed the parliament with his own creatures, so far as he could, the Catholic clergy opposing his candidates and resolutely advising their people to vote for none but men of their own faith. The House of Commons and the Privy Council were brow-beaten and bullied into granting the subsidies demanded by the Lord Deputy. The House of Lords resisted vigorously, but to no purpose. He then induced the Privy Council to declare many of "the Graces" inconsistent with the interests of the Crown, and made them petition the King to repeal them.

He had obtained all he wanted from Parliament and the Privy Council,—abundant supplies, and the virtual abolition of the "Graces." He now called together the clergy of the Established Church, and bullied them in the same way.

"The Confession of the Anglo-Irish Church, as drawn up by Usher, was more anti-Catholic than that established in England; and it was one of the objects of Wentworth's mission to establish a uniformity between the two churches in form and doctrine. . . . (The clergy) willingly granted the subsidies and then entered upon the consideration of ecclesiastical reforms, which were rendered necessary by the disorders that had crept into the Protestant Church in that island—sectarian differences, alienation of church property, ignorance and negligence in the clergy. The Lord Deputy . . . . reckoned fully upon the same subserviency among the clergy which he had found elsewhere." He wished them to accept entire the Articles of the Church of England; Usher had encouraged him to hope for a ready acquiescence. Everything, at first, took a course quite in opposition to his wishes. He drew up himself a Canon adopting the Church of England Articles in their integrity, had it voted and accepted without discussion! And he boasted of his triumph as of a something great and meritorious.*

Such was the man, who then bent his whole mind and his whole strength on taking away from the Irish Celt and the Anglo-Irish Catholic every acre of land left unconfiscated in Ireland. "The landholders of Connaught," says Wright, "had, by their share in giving the voluntary contribution, the privilege of being no longer molested in their just titles to their estates, which had been threatened by the late King's rage for plantations. The plunder (for in the manner the inquiry was conducted it deserves no better name) was too tempting to be foregone, and the equitable law established in England, which made sixty years' possession a title, was refused, because it stood in the way of the royal designs of confiscation. In the correspondence between the King and his Ministers and the Lord Deputy, the existence of this scheme of inquisition into the titles of the estates of the lords and gentlemen of Connaught, as one of the grand objects of Wentworth's mission, is not denied. But it was an act of bold rapacity at which the Lord Deputy at first shrunk, and in some of his letters he confesses his inability to discover any pretext for laying claim to them. By 'the graces,' as originally granted, the King had virtually pledged his own word that the Irish landholders should not be molested in their titles. Of these 'graces,' however, the King had now been relieved by a discreditable stratagem, and in the summer of 1635 Wentworth proceeded to find what he calls the King's 'just and honourable title' to the estates in Connaught."

He would trust to no subordinate, no matter how able and willing, the carrying out of this grand scheme of plunder. Commanding the attendance of the Judges and the Crown lawyers, Wentworth opened his "inquisition" in Roscommon, summoned before himself and the Commissioners the leading landholders of the county. He said the purpose of their coming was 'to find a clear and undoubted title in the Crown to the province of Connaught,' and urged them to be the King's advocates with their fellow landlords. He then formed a jury of the wealthiest men, with the avowed determination to make them "find for the King," or beggar them by fines, and kill them by the hardships of imprisonment. He told them,—which was another cover for crushing the class of Catholic lawyers,—that in the inquiry they, the proprietors, should have the unprecedented favor of using counsel.

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* Wright, i., p. 638.

The proceedings were opened, and the landholders petitioned for delay; but the demand was derided as a false pretext. The jurymen were advised to find for the King, else means of more effective persuasion should be used against them. And to enlist the Judges' personal interest in the cause, the Lord Chief Justice and the Lord Chief Baron were promised four shillings in the pound out of the entire yearly rent to accrue to the King from the results of this Commission.

Of course Roscommon was terrified into yielding all that Wentworth demanded. The jurymen found and the Judges ratified the King's title "without scruple or hesitation." So did the counties of Sligo and Mayo. The practical working of the newly introduced English Law was irresistible. Men submitted to be plundered. *They* had plundered the Native Celts some time before; and now their own turn had come.

There remained the county Galway, where the Earl of Clanrickard, knighted at the battle of Kinsale by Mountjoy, was lord paramount. The Commission held its court in Clanrickard's own house at Portumna. Wentworth plied the Sheriff and Jury with alternate cajoleries and threats. But they "most obstinately and perversely refused to find for his Majesty."

The threats were now put into execution. The Sheriff was fined £1,000 for having "packed" his jury with such perverse individuals; and the jurymen were cited before the Star Chamber in Dublin Castle and fined £4,000 each for daring to resist the self-evident justice of the King's title. The Earl of Clanrickard himself died soon afterward, humiliated and broken-hearted. The Catholic lawyers who had dared to take up the cause of the landholders, were peremptorily challenged to take the Oath of Supremacy; and, on their refusal, disbarring and disqualifying them for their profession. When their clients sent some of their number to England as a deputation to the King, the selfish and unscrupulous tyrant was persuaded to send them back prisoners to the Lord Deputy, to be dealt with as he might determine.

Such was Charles I.; and such was Wentworth, his deputy in Ireland.

That Wentworth's purpose in thus despoiling the landholders of Galway,—of the whole of Connaught indeed,—was to root out the Irish, we are assured by himself. "There is now," he says, "a fair opportunity put into his Majesty's hands to lay a sure foundation for reducing and securing this county of Galway . . . . by fully lining and planting it with English, which could not have been so thoroughly done, as for the public safety is necessary, if the pretended owners of lands in this county have not a greater proportion taken from them than is appointed by the articles of plantation to be applied to his Majesty's benefit in the other three counties." *

From the articles of impeachment drawn up against him, we find that "he did declare and publish that *Ireland was a conquered nation; and that the King might do with them* (the Irish) *what he pleased.*" †

His arbitrary rule destroyed the woollen trade in Ireland, the chief industry in an agricultural and pastural country, where a state of chronic warfare and disturbance was so baneful to trade and commerce. The woollen industry, moreover, was suppressed by him for the express purpose of rendering Ireland more dependent on England, by compelling her to receive from the latter the very raiment necessary in a northern clime. He is credited with having founded or revived the manufacture of linen. This industry, so flourishing in the island from ancient times, may have indeed declined, as was natural and inevitable, during the Elizabethan wars and the calamitous reign of James I. But the revival,—if indeed he should be credited with it,—was far from compensating the loss entailed on the country by the sacrifice of the woollen trade. That he did greatly encourage the growth and manufacture of linen, may be confessed to his credit. Still, it is no less certain that he ruined the woollen manufactures in which Ireland successfully competed with England in foreign markets.

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* Strafford Papers, ii., 453.

† Baker, "Chronicles of the Kings of England," p. 499.

The Religious Side of the Question of Wrong-doing.

In the last century a Protestant by birth, education, and life-long profession, and the greatest man whom Ireland has ever produced, wrote these pregnant and memorable words: "Protestant ascendancy is neither more nor less than the resolution of one set of people in Ireland to consider themselves as the sole citizens in the commonwealth—and to keep a dominion over the rest by reducing them to absolute slavery, under a military power." *

This much must be said, however, in speaking of Protestant Ascendancy as it existed in the days of Burke, that it is only a *pis aller*, imposed by the necessity of circumstances, and accepted even at this day (December, 1884), with extreme reluctance by the dominant party. All the attempts to exterminate the Irish race, and with them the Catholic religion, having failed, the Puritans and Irish Churchmen agreed upon effective measures to stop the growth of the hated creed, and to degrade it utterly by making of it the proscribed religion of slaves.

But there is a large class of most estimable men, whose souls recoil from the idea that it could have been at any time the deliberate purpose of English or Irish Protestants to EXTERMINATE the professors of "popery," still less to involve in one indiscriminate decree of extirpation and slaughter all the Celtic Irish and Catholics. It is not a pleasant task to convince them that such is unquestionably the fact.

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* Burke's "Works," vol. v., p. 239.

"The favourite object of the Irish governors, and the English parliament, was the utter extermination of all the Catholic inhabitants of Ireland. Their estates were already marked out and allotted to their conquerors; so that they and their posterity were consigned to inevitable ruin." *

Such is the general purpose attributed to the English rulers of Ireland by one who was an ordained minister of that same Protestant Ascendancy. Elsewhere, he is more particular.

"The great body of the Covenanters in Ulster despised the whole negotiation (the 'cessation of arms' between the Confederated Catholics and the Marquis of Ormonde); the Parliamentarians of Munster opposed any peace with the Irish. These reformers, in the fulness of their zeal, could be contented only with the extirpation of popery and the rebellious Irish race." †

That it was the deliberate purpose of the government administered, in 1641–42, by the Lords Justices Parsons and Borlase, we have from the then Lord Lieutenant himself, Ormonde:

"There is too much reason to think, that, as the lords justices really wished the rebellion to spread, and more gentlemen of estates to be involved in it, that the forfeitures might be the greater, and a general plantation be carried on by a new set of English Protestants, all over the Kingdom, to the ruin and expulsion of all the old English and Natives that were Roman Catholics; so to promote what they wished, they gave out speeches upon occasions, insinuating such a design, and that in a short time there would not be a Roman Catholic left in the Kingdom. It is no small confirmation of this notion, that the Earl of Ormonde, in his letters of January 27th, and February 25th, 1641–42, to Sir W. St. Leger, *imputes the general revolt*

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* Leland, "Hist. of Ireland," iii., 192.

† *Ibidem*, 331.

of the nation, then far advanced, to the publishing of such a design; and when a person of his great modesty and temper, the most averse in his nature to speak his sentiments of what he could not but condemn in others, and who, when obliged to do so, does it always in the gentlest expressions, is drawn to express such an opinion, *the case must be very notorious.* I do not find that the copies of those letters are preserved: but the original of Sir W. St. Leger's, in answer to them, sufficiently shows it to be his lordship's opinion; for, after acknowledging the receipt of these two letters, he useth these words: 'The undue promulgation of that severe determination to extirpate the Irish and papacy out of the Kingdom, your lordship rightly apprehends to be too unseasonably published.'"*

Elsewhere Carte is, if possible, more explicit still on this design of the Dublin Officials in conjunction with the English Parliament, the Puritans in both countries, and all who upheld the Solemn League and Covenant. "These propositions," he says, "certainly came from some of that party of men which first formed the design of an extirpation of the Roman Catholicks, and, by publishing that design, made the rebellion so general as it proved at last. They all breathed the same spirit; and though extirpation both of nation and religion was not expressly mentioned, yet it seemed to be contrived effectually in all the propositions. They appeared so monstrous and unreasonable, that it was thought they could proceed from nothing but a high degree of madness or malice." †

The existence of the design, and the manifestation of it long before the rebellion of Oct. 23, 1641, and for the avowed purpose of inciting to this rebellion and making it general,—are historical facts too well established by Protestants themselves, to require more than a mere mention.

One class of documents have been overlooked in connection with this point,—the "remonstrances" and "declarations of grievances" issued by the Catholics themselves, when driven to defend, by force of arms, the dearest and most essential rights of human beings and Christian men,—liberty of conscience and the right to live on their native soil.

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* Carte, i., p. 263.

† *Ibidem*, p. 502.

"1. It was plotted and resolved by the Puritans of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to extinguish quite the Catholic religion, and the professors and maintainers thereof, out of all those kingdoms; and to put all Catholics of this realm to the sword, that would not conform themselves to the Protestant religion.

"2. The State of Ireland (that is, the local government in Ireland) did publicly declare that they would root out of this realm all the natives, and make a total second conquest of the land, alleging, that they were not safe with them.

"3. All the natives here were deprived of the benefit of the ancient fundamental laws, liberties, and privileges, due by all laws and justice to a free people and nation, and more particularly due by the municipal laws of Ireland.

"4. That the subjects of Ireland, especially the Irish, were thrust out forcibly from their ancient possessions, against law, without color or right; and could not have propriety (ownership) or security in their estates, goods, or other rights, but were wholly subject to an arbitrary power, and tyrannical government, these forty years past, without hope of relief or redress.

"5. Their native youth here, debarred by the practice of the State from all learning and education, in that the one only University here excludes all Catholics thence; neither are they suffered to acquire learning or breeding beyond seas, of purpose to make them rude and ignorant of all letters.

"6. The Catholics of this realm are not admitted to any dignity, place, or office, either military or civil, spiritual or temporal, but the same conferred upon unworthy persons, and men of no quality, who purchase it for money, or favour, and not by merit.

"10. All their heavy and insufferable pressures prosecuted and laboured by the natives of this Kingdom, with much suit, expense, and importunity, both in Parliament here, and in England before his

Majesty, to be redressed,—yet could never be brought to any happy conclusion, or as much as hope of contentment, but always eluded with delays.

"11. Common justice, and the rights and privileges of Parliament, denied to all the natives of the realm; and the ancient course of parliamentary proceeding wholly declined.

"16. The many horrid murders, robberies, pillages, waste, burnings, and other execrable crueltie, perpetrated of late by the Protestant armies here, by public direction of the State of this realm. . . .

"17. All the natives in the English Plantations of this realm were disarmed by proclamation, and the Protestant Plantators armed, and tied by the conditions of their plantations to have arms, and to keep certain numbers of horse and foot continually upon their lands, by which advantage many thousands of the natives were expulsed out of their possessions, and as many hanged by martial law, without cause, and against the laws of this realm; and many of them otherwise destroyed, and made away, by sinister means and practices.

"18. Half this realm was found to belong unto his Majesty, as his ancient demesne and inheritance, upon old feigned titles of three hundred years past, by juries, against law, their evidence, and conscience, who were corrupted to find the said titles, upon promise of part of those lands so found for the King, or other reward, or were drawn thereunto by threats . . . . , or by heavy fines, mulcts, or censures of pillory, stigmatizings, and other like cruel and unusual punishments." *

In the Remonstrance addressed to the King in person, the same grievances are stated more at length.

"4. Neither can we in any way admit the power and jurisdiction that the new Parliament of England doth assume over the parliament and the whole kingdom of Ireland, . . . against whose power and arrogancy we absolutely protest, as having no dependency on them, or any other, but only of your Majesty; and we are confident

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* "Contemporary Hist. of Affairs in Ireland," vol. i., part ii., pp. 450–51.

we should receive (were we subordinate to them) the like, if not far worse measure of cruelty and tyranny, than they now practice and exercise against the native Catholics of their own realm.

"7. There was a petition framed by the Puritans of this Kingdom of Ireland, subscribed by the hands of many hundreds of them, and preferred to the House of Commons of the now Parliament in England, for suppressing our religion, and us the professors thereof, residing within this Kingdom of Ireland, which as we are credibly informed, was condescended unto by both Houses of Parliament there, and undertaken to be accomplished to their full desires.

"14. We your Highness's subjects, the distressed Catholics of Ireland, cannot, but with much grief, express our sense of our general sufferings and pressures within this realm, since the beginning of your Majesty's late Royal father's reign, being almost forty years, and the only time of continued peace we enjoyed these later ages; *in all which time,* through the corruption of the Governors and State of this realm, though, for redress of our grievances, often suit hath been made by us; *yet, therein,* could we never obtain any part of our desires, but rather have endured a continual servitude, than the freedom of subjects, being not permitted, in all this space, to enjoy our birthright, or the benefit of the fundamental laws of this realm, they being the very same that are in England, nor admitted to have property in our goods or lands; for that a tyrannical government hath been continually exercised over us all this time, in more strict and cruel manner, than in Turkey, or any other infidel country; though, by the ancient fundamental laws of the realm, no subjects in Europe can challenge more freedom or liberty."

The Remonstrance, after enumerating other grievances, substantially the same as those mentioned above, dwells with particular stress on the outrageous acts of the Lords Justices, Parsons and Borlase. A remonstrance sent by the aggrieved Catholics to be laid before Parliament, was not only not presented, but the Parliament itself was illegally prorogued lest it should take cognizance thereof, and the remonstrants were declared by proclamation to be traitors and rebels.

The evil practices of Sir William Parsons are specially denounced; his packing juries and obtaining verdicts for the crown, under promise to the jurors of dividing with them the confiscated estates of Catholics. A petition was before Parliament against Parsons for a similar case in the O'Byrnes' country, in Wicklow; but he prorogued the Parliament in violation of the King's express command.

He "hath been a mean to supplant out of their ancient possessions and inheritances many of the inhabitants of this realm, though of your best subjects; . . . he having the survey and measuring thereof, did most partially and corruptly survey the same, making the best land 'waste and unprofitable' in his survey, . . . the same wholly disposed of by the said Parsons at his pleasure . . . ; and did plot in the Earl of Strafford's government to supplant all the old Irish in all the places of this Kingdom. . . ."

"29. . . . . The Governors and State of this Kingdom procured their own followers and dependants, who had no estate nor settled residence within this land, to be unduly elected and returned to Parliament here, as lawful members, and thereby exceeding in votes the lawful members thereof, have caused divers pernicious and bloody statutes and laws to be enacted in this Kingdom, and others of no less danger and malice to be transmitted into England to pass here for laws, *with intention to work the final destruction of our nation.*"

The remonstrants address the King in terms of respect and obsequiousness, which to us at this distance of time and with our knowledge of Charles' base conduct toward Ireland and Irish Catholics,—savor strongly of servility. But though they should, crushed and ground into the dust as they had been for generations, fawn and crouch at the foot of the throne, the wrongs which they complained of there were not the less real, not the less incredible.

They speak of the forty years of the Stuart rule over them as "the only continued time of peace we enjoyed these later ages"; but, nevertheless, truth compels them to affirm that "therein" they "rather have endured a continual servitude than the freedom of subjects, being not permitted in all this space, to enjoy our birthright, or the benefit of the fundamental laws of this realm."

In one word, all through the reigns of James I. and his son, the Irish Catholics were dealt with by the local government and its abominable subordinates, as if they were the merest *slaves and outlaws,* deprived, in their native land, of all the rights of citizenship, and all the protection due to human beings.

The "comparative quiet" which the Catholics enjoyed during the "forty years of peace" spoken of by Lord Clarendon, is to be appreciated by impartial readers by referring to what really both James and Charles did for the relief of their oppressed and persecuted subjects. It was the boast of the Royalist writers that the reign of the two first Stuarts was a kind of golden age for the Irish Catholics.

The Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy were the twofold lever used by the administration to force Catholics into the Protestant Church, or to squeeze out of them whatever money could be got for the King's need or to satisfy the covetousness of the officials, high and low.

Who can forget the rigor with which the Act of Uniformity was enforced by James at the very opening of his reign?

A glance at its operation will satisfy us as to its terrible power to oppress the conscience.

Fines on Recusants.

Every poor man who refused to attend Protestant service on Sunday, was fined *twelvepence,* that is, one-third of his weekly earnings. And the fine had to be paid, as there were too many greedy and lynx-eyed officials who were interested in collecting it. Lord Strafford, while governing Ireland, denounces the practice as both ineffective for its purpose, and tyrannical toward the people. "This course alone will never bring them to church, being rather an engine to drain money out of their pockets, than to raise a right belief and faith in their hearts, and so doth not indeed tend to that end it sets forth." *

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* Strafford Papers, ii. 39.

As "draining money" was the real object of the administrators of this law, they applied it rigorously to the rich as well as to the poor. During Lord Chichester's rule, nine Catholics were at one time fined the sum of £750 for recusancy. Yet Chichester boasted that the amount of fines imposed in the whole county of Dublin for a year's recusancy did not exceed £14 or £15. Here is the peremptory answer to this unblushing assertion.

1605. "The Lord Deputy (Chichester) and council convened before them the aldermen and some of the principal citizens, and endeavoured by persuasions and lenity to draw them to their duty. They also exemplified under the Great Seal and published the statute of uniformity of the 2d of Elizabeth in regard there was found to be some material difference between the original record and the printed copies, that none might pretend ignorance of the original record, and added thereto the King's injunction for the observance of the said statute. But these gentle methods failing to have any effect, sixteen of the most eminent of the city were convened into the Court of Castle Chamber, of whom nine of the chief were censured, and six of the aldermen fined each £100, and the other three £50 apiece, and they were all committed prisoners to the Castle during the pleasure of the court; and it was ordered that none of the citizens should bear office till they conformed. The week following the rest were censured in the same manner, except Alderman Archer, who conformed."*

How much "the rest" had to pay is not told us. This was in the city: how many more were heavily "censured" throughout the county, may be guessed at easily. Rev. Mr. Rooth, a Catholic priest and a contemporary, affirms that in the single county of Cavan, the fines inflicted on recusants amounted yearly to £8,000.

These fines, levied mercilessly all over Ireland, were one of the chief resources of the government. The Reverend Fernando Warner tells us, with a grim irony, that: "The Papists had for many years enjoyed a great calm, being upon the matter absolved from the severest parts of the law, and dispensed with for the gentlest; *and were grown only a part of the revenue,* without any probable danger of being made a sacrifice to the law."

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* Harris, "Hist. and Antiquities of the City of Dublin," p. 322.

The vexations and oppression exercised toward recusants all through these years, were such, that Strafford himself protested against them as impolitic,—at least, as adding an intolerable grievance to the confiscations by which he and his royal master were preparing to dispossess every Catholic and Irishman in the country.

"It were too much at once to distemper them by bringing plantations upon them, and disturbing them in the exercise of their religion, so long as it be without scandal; and so indeed very inconsiderate, as I conceive, to move in this latter, till that former be settled, and by that means the Protestant party become by much the stronger, which, in truth, as yet I do not conceive it to be." And, again, speaking of the impolicy of doing violence to the Catholic conscience by enforcing the Act of Uniformity: "This course alone will never bring them to church, being rather an engine to drain money out of their pockets, than to raise a right belief and faith in their hearts, and so doth not indeed tend to that end it sets forth."*

The Ecclesiastical Courts, set in motion everywhere, under the pretence of exacting uniformity in religion, were only machines of pitiless peculation. Bishop Burnet bears unimpeachable testimony to this fact:

"The officers of the court made it their business to draw people into trouble by vexatious suits, and to hold them so long in it that for threepence worth of the tithe of turf, they would put to five pounds charge. And the solemnest and sacredest of all the church censures, which was excommunication, went about in so sordid and base a manner, that all regard to it, as it was a spiritual censure, was lost; and the effects it had in law made it be cried out on as a most intolerable piece of tyranny. The officers of the court thought they had a sort of right to oppress the natives, and that all was well got, that was wrung from them."*

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* "State Letters of the Earl of Strafford," ii. 39. Dublin, 1740.

This single concluding sentence is more eloquent, and gives a more vivid description of the grinding oppression inflicted on the Irish people by the Established Church alone, independently of the good work performed by the Chichesters, Borlases, and Parsonses,—that it says more even than the Remonstrances published during or before the insurrection of 1641.

No less odious and oppressive was the celebrated "Court of Wards." It had been enacted that when any Catholic nobleman or landed proprietor died without conforming to the Established Church, his heirs were handed over to this Court, which placed its wards under the guardianship of Protestant families, in order to their being brought up in the State religion. Such guardianship became an object of competition among the royal favorites or the friends of the judges. "The wardship and marriage of the heir"—says Carte—"were reserved to the Crown. These lands and wardships were usually granted to favourites, and men of power and interest, who, though they gave security to the Court of Wards to take care, as well of the education and maintenance of the heir, as of the good condition of the estate, too often neglected both; destroyed the woods, and committed horrible waste upon the lands; brought up the heir in ignorance, and in a manner unworthy of his quality; and, selling his person to the highest bidder, matched him unequally in point of birth and fortune, as well as disagreeably with regard to the character, qualities, and figure of the person that was picked out to be the companion of his life."†

In the work of a contemporary writer now become classic, we are informed of the last criminal intrigues of Lord Justice Parsons, and of the remonstrances to Charles I. against the tyrannical and oppressive rule of this infamous magistrate. In spite of his desperate opposition the King's Commissioners met the Chiefs of the Confederated Catholics at Trim, on March 17, 1642, and duly received and transmitted to the King the remonstrance drawn up by his aggrieved subjects. One of the articles said:

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* Burnet, "Life of Bishop Bedell," p. 89.

† Carte, ii. 248.

"The illegal, arbitrary, and unlawful proceedings of the said William Parsons, and one of the said impeached judges, and their adherents and instruments in the Court of Wards, and the many wilfully erroneous decrees and judgments of that Court, by which the heirs of Catholic noblemen and other Catholics were more cruelly and tyrannically dealt withal; destroyed in their estates, and bred in dissoluteness and ignorance; their parents' debts unsatisfied; their younger brothers and sisters left wholly unprovided for; the ancient tenure of mesne lands unregarded; estates valid in law, and made for valuable considerations, avoided against law; and the whole land filled up with the frequent swarms of escheators, feodarics, pursuivants, and others, by authority of that Court."[*]

Of course, this Court of Wards was, originally, one of the principal agencies devised to prevent the growth of Popery, and to do away with what remained of the Old Irish great families or the ancient Anglo-Norman aristocracy. "Our kings," says Bishop Burnet, "were according to the first institution the guardians of the wards. They bred them up in their courts, and disposed of them in marriage as they thought fit. Afterwards they compounded or forgave them; or gave them to some branches of the family, or to provide the younger children. But they proceeded in this very gently: and the chief care, after the Reformation, was to breed the wards Protestants. Still all were under a great dependance by this means. Much money was not raised this way; but families were often at mercy, and were used according to their behaviour. King James granted these generally to his servants and favourites; and they made the most of them; so that what was before a dependance on the Crown, and was moderately compounded for, became then a most exacting oppression, by which several families were ruined."[†]

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[*] See Rev. C. P. Meehan, "Confederation of Kilkenny," ed. 1882, p. 82; and Plowden, "Historical View," &c., I., Append. 84.

[†] Burnet, "Hist. of his Own Times," i. 16.

The Remonstrance presented at Trim, and the energetic representations made to the Royal Commissioners, were instrumental in obtaining the deprivation of Sir William Parsons, but not before he and his multitude of followers had been gorged with the spoils of the Irish Catholics. We dismiss him for the moment. But no one who has read in authentic history of the doings of this bad man, can wonder that Catholic Ireland, oppressed and tortured beyond the limits of human endurance, should have turned in her despair upon the wrong-doers.

Apostasy from their baptismal creed, from the faith of their fathers and people, from what they believed in their inmost conscience was the only true religion, was forced upon the nation at every turn, if they would enjoy the simplest rights and privileges of citizenship or human fellowship. They could not sue out livery of their lands without taking the Oath of Supremacy. If they entered on possession without doing so, they were punished as intruders on the property of the Crown.

The Irish Catholics, following in this the lead of the nobility and gentry of the Pale, sought earnestly and with united action a relief from all these burthens and disabilities. The removal sought for is known in history by the name of "the Graces." But we now know what became of these.

Ireland from 1640 to 1653.

To any man who has read the history of the confiscations and plantations which filled up, in Ireland, the reigns of the two first Stuart Kings, it will not seem strange or unexpected that the entire Celtic population, as well as the Anglo-Irish Catholics, should rise against their persecutors and oppressors whenever a favorable opportunity offered them any prospect of throwing off a crushing yoke and recovering some portion of civil and religious freedom.

Without recurring to the intolerable ills endured under Elizabeth, we may fairly say that the administration of the Irish Government under her two successors from 1604 to 1640 was simply organized plunder, legalized iniquity, a tyranny so blindly oppressive and ferocious, that we wonder how men in their senses could have imagined for a moment that this wholesale system of wrong-doing and savage cruelty could produce in the oppressed any other feelings than those of unquenchable hatred and an insatiable desire of revenge.

But in the bosoms of the immense majority of the Irish nation there burned a nobler fire than that of hatred toward the oppressor, —the ardor begotten of religious Faith deeply rooted in every recess of the soul, and grown all the more vigorous and imperishable, that its professors, from generation to generation, had sacrificed and suffered everything rather than pluck it out of their hearts. And there burned together with the pure, bright fire of religious faith the scarcely less pure and no less ardent flame of patriotism,—the love of native country foully wronged, and the pride of an ancient and warlike race whom it was England's avowed aim to exterminate.

The united perfidy, greed, and oppression which characterized the conduct of the First Charles toward the Catholics of Ireland, coupled with the abominable falsehood, fraud, and tyranny of Wentworth, his tool, had disposed such of the Irish as were not given up to despair, to rise up in rebellion. And the rapid progress of the Covenanters and Puritans in the three Kingdoms, the open professions made inside and outside of the English Parliament to destroy utterly Popery and Papists, left no choice to Irish manhood between abjectly submitting to be exterminated, after having been outlawed and despoiled, or vindicating by armed resistance their right to live as freemen on the land of their birth.

The uprising of the Irish nation, like one man, in 1641–1642, would, to the eyes of any unprejudiced and enlightened reader of contemporary history, be the natural and inevitable result of the threats and acts of the triumphant Covenanter and Puritan Party on both sides of the Irish Channel, coming so closely after the administration of Wentworth.

They did rebel, without concert, unhappily, in one corner of the island, and, even there, without general premeditation or preparation.

It was the breaking forth of the fierce flame from the fires so long smouldering beneath the surface, and fed by so many years of the cruelest heartburnings. Men were, or pretended to be, astonished that the fierce conflagration spread so rapidly. They might have thought that Celtic Ireland was conquered, crushed, and that its spirit was quenched in a deluge of blood. But the spirit was there: and Oh! that there had been found men to direct and control the forces of a movement as legitimate, as holy as ever won the admiration of past ages!

The rebellion of 1641 has been qualified as "execrable" by those who provoked it, and by those who profited by the "Protestant Ascendancy," which grew up, like the Upas Tree, amid the waste left behind by those who exterminated the "rebels."

Let us turn the tables on these men, and prove beyond the possibility of denial or even of doubt, that this "rebellion" was provoked, fostered, and extended by the Parliamentary party in England and by their zealous co-operators in Ireland, the local Government having its seat in Dublin Castle, and the army of officials, adventurers, Planters, &c., who were interested in advancing the work of confiscation and extermination.

There did exist, before the 23d October, 1641, an Execrable Plot for inciting to rebellion all the Catholics in Ireland, and for utterly extirpating them.

Leland, naturally biassed as he must have been in favor of this Protestant Ascendancy and of those who had laid its foundations, reared, and secured its duration,—still acknowledges, that the aim of England and of those who ruled Ireland in her name was to root out everything bearing the name of Catholic.

"The favorite object," he writes, "of the Irish Governors and the English Parliament was the utter extermination of all the Catholic inhabitants of Ireland. Their estates were already marked out and allotted to their conquerors; so that they and their posterity were consigned to inevitable ruin."*

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* Leland, "History of Ireland," iii., p. 192.

This is a sweeping indictment of the entire policy of English rule in Ireland, a terrible censure of the Protestantism, which professed to have in view the "civilizing" of the Irish race and supplanting of Romish superstition by the pure morality of the Gospel. And this is the testimony of a clergyman of the Established Church, an official, moreover, of the Dublin government.

Warner, Clarendon, and Carte bear no less convincing testimony to the existence of this design of extermination. The last-named, in particular, attests the existence of the plot long before the breaking out of the rebellion:

"The reason of their (the Justices Parsons and Borlase) advice is founded upon their darling scheme of an extirpation of the old English proprietors, and a general plantation of the whole Kingdom with a new colony; for this is the meaning of what they allege, to show it to be 'unsafe for his Majesty, and destructive to the Kingdom, to grant the petitioners' request; as being altogether inconsistent with the means of raising a considerable revenue for his crown, of settling Religion and Civility in the Kingdom; and of establishing a firm and lasting peace, to the honor of his Majesty, the safety of his royal posterity, and the comfort of all his faithful subjects.'" *

Elsewhere Carte affords us still more complete evidence. "These difficulties and considerations were of little weight with the Lords Justices; who, having got a thin House of Commons to their mind, of persons devoted to their interests and measures, resolved to improve the opportunity offered, and to get such acts passed as might distress the King, exasperate the bulk of the nation, spread the rebellion, and so promote their darling scheme of extinguishing the old proprietors and making a new plantation of the Kingdom." †

And elsewhere:

"Such considerations as these were not agreeable to the views of the Lords Justices, who had set their hearts on the extirpation not

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* Carte, i. 391.

† Carte MSS., vol. v., p. 272.

only of the 'mere Irish,' but likewise of all the old English families that were Roman Catholics, and the making of a new plantation all over the Kingdom, in which they could not fail to have a principal share; so all their reasonings, upon all occasions, were calculated and intended to promote that their favorite scheme."

It was the deliberate and well-matured design, therefore, of the men who, unhappily for the Irish people, had the principal share in the government of the Kingdom, to provoke and promote rebellion.

The "rebellion" began Oct. 23, 1641. From the foregoing we are prepared to accept as the simple truth the statement of the Irish General, Owen Roe O'Neill:

"We imagine we are not in rebellion ourselves, but do really fight for our Prince in defence of his royal crown and prerogative, wherein we shall continue and die to the last man."

"The native Irish being well informed, as they thought, that they must either turn Protestants, or depart the Kingdom, or be hanged at their own doors, took up arms in their own defence, especially in Ulster, where the six counties had been forfeited."*

And the author of the "Aphorismical Discovery of Faction," says on his part: "It was blazed abroad by the best note of Protestants that all Ireland by that time twelvemonth must either go to 'church,' be executed, or endure banishment or exile." †

Echoing the report gone abroad through Ireland of the purpose to exterminate all mere Irish and Catholics, Lord Castlehaven says: "The Catholics were urged (i. e., pushed) to rebellion; and the Lords Justices were often heard to say, that the more there were in rebellion the more lands would be forfeited." ‡

Let the men who provoked and drove the nation to rise, without previous concert, or preparation, or necessary provision, against the ferocious greed which coveted the land and thirsted for the blood of its children, call the movement a rebellion, an execrable rebellion,—

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* Anderson's "Royal Genealogies," in Curry, vol. ii., p. 371.

† Aphor. Dis., i. 12.

‡ "Review of Civil Wars of Ireland," p. 28.

we who view this terrible drama and its actors at the distance of two centuries and a half, will pronounce it to be, on the part of the insurgents, one of the noblest revolutions ever attempted to be carried out in favor of civil and religious liberty by a people the most cruelly wronged of all those whom history mentions.

It was a noble attempt to resist the threats of the Puritan Covenanters and the blood-thirsty plunderers directed by Parsons and Borlase.

Was this insurrection, justified as it was by every principle and motive which render armed resistance to the oppressor and exterminator not only justifiable but a matter of duty,—was it, then, sullied in its beginning and throughout its course by the wholesale massacres, first mentioned by Sir John Temple in his "History of the Irish Rebellion," published in 1646?

The Truth about the Massacres of 1641.

The incredible numbers asserted to have been massacred within two years after Oct. 23, 1641.

Sir John Temple affirms, that: "There being, since the rebellion first broke out, unto the time of the cessation made Sept. 15, 1643, ... above 300,000 British and Protestants cruelly murdered in cold blood, destroyed some other way, or expelled out of their habitations, according to the strictest conjecture and computation of those who seemed best to understand the numbers of English planted in Ireland, besides those few which fell in the heat of fight during the war." *

Rapin says: "Above 154,000 Protestants were massacred in that Kingdom, from the 23d October (1641) to the 1st March following." †

Hume does not hesitate to write: "By some computations, those who perished by all these cruelties are supposed to be 150,000 or 200,000. By the most moderate, and probably the most reasonable account, they are made to amount to 40,000, if this extenuation itself be not, as is usual in such cases, somewhat exaggerated." ‡

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* Temple, "The Irish Rebellion," p. 43.

† "Hist. of England," ix., 340.

‡ "Hist. of England."

Clarendon tells us that: "A general insurrection of the Irish spread over the whole country, in such an inhuman and barbarous manner, that there were 40,000 or 50,000 of the English Protestants murdered before they suspected themselves to be in any danger, or could provide for their defence, by drawing together into towns or strong houses." *

REFUTATION.

To confine ourselves to the North of Ireland where the insurrection began, and particularly to its seat, the province of Ulster, we have only to arrive at as near an estimate as we can of the numbers of its Protestant population in 1641.

In the report of a survey made in 1619 (already mentioned on page 231) by a Royal Commission, it is stated that in all the Plantation of Ulster, comprising the six forfeited counties, there were in all 1,974 families, giving 6,215 men between fifteen and sixty able to bear arms.† In 1633, we have it from the State Papers of the Earl of Strafford, that the number of men on the Plantation able to bear arms was 13,092, which would indicate as a proportional number of families between 4,000 or 5,000.

Sir William Petty, at the end of this dreadful war, gave to the world the only statistical information ever published about the relative numbers of Catholics and Protestants in the Kingdom both when the insurrection began, and when extermination had run its bloody course. He gives 1,466,000 souls as the total for all Ireland in 1641. In that total the Protestants were to the Catholics as two to eleven, which would give 225,000 Protestants for all Ireland, as against 1,241,000 Catholics.

Now Carte states, that the numbers said to have been massacred "were more than there were of English at that time in all Ireland." And again: "It is certain, that the great body of the English was settled in Munster and Leinster, where very few murders were com-

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* "Hist. of the Irish Rebellion."

† Gilbert, "Contemporary Hist. of Affairs in Ireland," vol. i. App.

mitted; and that in Ulster, which was the dismal scene of the massacre, there were above 100,000 Scots, who before the general plantation of it, had settled in great numbers in the counties of Down and Antrim; and new shoals of them had come over, upon the plantation of the six escheated counties: and they were so very powerful therein that the Irish, either out of fear of their numbers, or some other politic reason, spared those of that nation, making proclamation, on pain of death, that no Scotsman should be molested in body, goods, or lands. . . . . It cannot therefore reasonably be presumed that there were at most above 20,000 English souls, of all ages and sexes, in Ulster at that time. And of these, as appears by the Lord Justices' letter, there were several thousands got safe to Dublin, and were subsisted there for many months afterwards; besides 6,000 women and children which Captain Mervyn saved in Fermanagh, and others that got safe to Derry, Colerain, and Carrickfergus, and went from these and other ports into England."

Taking the official figures given in the Official Survey of 1619, in which every family in the Plantation was visited, as we have seen in the case of the Blennerhassetts; and taking into account the "new shoals of Scots that had come over, upon the plantation of the six escheated counties;" 20,000 English souls may seem a very high estimate of the non-Irish and non-Scotch settlers in Ulster in 1641. Had all these been swept out of existence in the beginning of the war, a thing which no one has dared to affirm,—the number of the pretended victims of the "massacre" would have fallen far short of that mentioned by that Prince of Liars, Burton. Let us,—since we are just reviewing that Carnival of Falsehood, Fraud, and Forgery, the historical conspiracy to stain with blood the rising of the Irish in 1641, let us examine the assertions of this Burton.

"It would be almost endless to give an account of all the cruelties acted by these incarnate devils upon the innocent English, of whom they destroyed near 300,000 in a few months." *

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* Burton, "Hist. of the Kingdom of Ireland," Westminster, 1811, p. 37.

Where on earth did they find such a number to destroy? But even this monstrous feat of mendacity is, in a manner, eclipsed by Sir Philip Warwick's achievement: "In one week," he says, "they (the Irish) massacred very near 100,000 persons, men, women, and children." *

Rapin, after these master-liars, attempts to cap the climax by telling us, that: "On the 23d of October and the following days, above 40,000 English Protestants were massacred by the Irish." †

Borlase is not behindhand with his compeers: "The greatest and most horrid massacres were acted before the Parliament could possibly know there was a rebellion; for after that the plot was detected, the rebels somewhat slacked in their first cruelties." ‡

Leaving altogether aside Catholic writers on this subject, we need only call the most accredited Protestant historians to contradict flatly, and refute triumphantly these conspirators, and to upset the edifice of calumnious falsehood they have reared.

Warner, himself a clergyman of the Church of England, who spared no labor to examine all the original sources of the history of the Cromwellian epoch, avers that: "It is easy enough to demonstrate the falsehood of the relation of every Protestant historian of this rebellion. . . . To any one who considers how thinly Ireland was at that time peopled by Protestants, and the province of Ulster particularly, where was the chief scene of the massacre, those relations upon the face of them appear incredible. Setting aside all opinions and calculations in this affair, which, besides their uncertainty, are without any precision as to the space of time in which the murders were committed, the evidence from the depositions in the manuscript above mentioned, stands thus:—The number of people killed, upon positive evidence collected in two years after the insurrection broke out, adding them all together, amounts only to 2,109; on the reports of other Protestants, 1,619 more; and on the report of some of the

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* "Memoirs of the Reign of Charles I." (London, 1703), p. 199.

† "Hist. of England," vol. ix., p. 340.

‡ "History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion" (Folio, London, 1680), p. 50.

rebels themselves, a further number of 300: the whole making 4,028. Besides these murders, there is, in the same collection, evidence on the report of others, of 8,000 killed by ill usage: and if we should allow that the cruelties of the Irish out of war extended to these numbers, which, considering the nature of several of the depositions, I think in my conscience we cannot, yet to be impartial we must allow, that there is no pretence for laying a greater number to their charge. This account is also corroborated by a letter which I copied out of the Council Books at Dublin, written on May 5, 1652, ten years after the beginning of the rebellion, from the Parliament Commissioners in Ireland to the English Parliament. After exciting them to further severity against the Irish, as being afraid 'their behavior towards this people may never sufficiently avenge their murders and massacres, and lest the Parliament might shortly be in pursuance of a speedy settlement of this nation, and thereby some tender concessions might be concluded,' the Commissioners tell them that it appears '*besides* 840 *families, there were killed, hanged, burned, and drowned,* 6,062.' "*

This is the total of the victims of Irish barbarity sent to England by the Commissioners of Parliament, in a document in which they appealed to the English Commons and Lords for additional measures of rigor toward the Irish insurgents. Surely they were not likely to give too low a figure.

"The proper evidence (says Mr. Prendergast, himself a Protestant) to prove or disprove this dreadful massacre, are of course authentic contemporaneous documents,—not compilations of a later age, like Hume's 'History of England,' or even the ponderous pamphlets of party writers of the day, like Milton and Clarendon, strangers to Ireland and its transactions.

"There is one document that ought to be decisive in this case, and it would have been so if the English of Ireland were not interested enough, and the English of England prejudiced enough, to propagate and perpetuate any calumny to the damage of the fame and national character of the people of Ireland. It is the following:—Just two months after the outbreak the Government issued a Commission under the Great Seal to seven despoiled Protestant Ministers, to take evidence upon oath '*to keep up the memory of the outrages committed by the Irish to posterity.*'

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* Warner, "Hist. of the Civil War in Ireland," pp. 296, 297.

"The Commission dated 23d December, 1641, was, in its original form, to take an account of losses. It was amended on the 18th of January, 1642, to include murders. So that this was an afterthought; a thing scarce possible if there had been a general massacre. The first Commission recites 'that many British and Protestants have been separated from their habitations, and others deprived of their goods'; the Commissioners are accordingly to examine upon oath concerning the amount of loss, the names of the robbers, and what traitorous speeches were uttered by the robbers or others. The second adds, 'and what violence was done by the robbers, and how often, and what numbers have been murthered, or have perished afterwards, on the way to Dublin or elsewhere.' And the remonstrance shows that the outrages, in spite of the Commissioners' attempt to present the most terrible pictures, were, for the most part, only such as necessarily followed the stripping the English and driving them from their possessions, as those Planters had driven the Irish from theirs thirty years before, and that the murders were fewer than have occurred in similar insurrections, where of course some would be slain resisting the pillagers of their homesteads. The Commissioners seem unconscious of any general massacre. The murders they record are the occurrences of four months, collected from different parts of Ulster. In the few instances where any numbers were slain, some of them, at least, were plainly acts of war, though the Commissioners would have them supposed to be cold-blooded murders, and occurred late in December. So far, therefore, from warranting the supposed extensive massacre of the English, this official account disproves it, and shows how baseless is Clarendon's story of 40,000 or 50,000 English murdered before they knew where they were, or of an incredible number of men, women, and children promiscuously slaughtered in ten days, as he elsewhere has it; or of 154,000 or 300,000 massacred in cold blood. The letters of the Lord Justices during the first months of the Rebellion are equally silent concerning any massacre; and their proclamation of 8th February, 1642, while it falsely charges the Irish with the design, says it had failed." *

We also possess, happily for the cause of historical truth, another authentic contemporary document, which, while giving us a clear and simple statement of the motives of the insurgents, disproves the reckless assertions of Temple, Clarendon, Hume, and Warwick. That is Colonel Henry O'Neill's "Impartial Relation" of the Confederates under Owen Roe from 1641 to 1650.

"1641.—After the commotions betwixt England and Scotland, about the beginning of October, Sir Phelim O'Neill, Sir Con Magenis, Colonel O'Brien, Colonel Butler, with several others of the nation, had several regiments of foot ready to march for Catalonia, with the King's permission, the Spanish ambassador having prevailed then with his majesty to send over such levies of the Irish, when a noise came amongst the Roman Catholics of Ulster (confirmed soon after by a letter intercepted from Scotland, to one Freeman of Antrim) that a puritan army was ready to come for Ireland, under the command of General Leslie, to suppress and extirpate the Roman Catholics of Ulster from amongst the Scotch; and to that end a private declaration passed in their private meetings or council, to lay heavy fines on each of them as would not appear at their Kirk the first and second Sundays, and the third Sunday to hang (without mercy) at their own doors, as many as would prove obstinate; which rigid and inhuman way of reforming, struck such a terror in the minds of the people, that every one thought of his own safety, or some general method of defence against so great a danger. Whereupon a convocation of the prime gentlemen of the province met, and

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* "Cromwellian Conquest," pp. 60, 61. The Abstract of the Lord Justices' Letter Book, from 1641 till 1644. *Carte Papers*, vol. 68, No. 132.

communicated their thoughts and apprehensions to each other, and to some gentlemen in Leinster, who joining their heads together, resolved to send immediately an express by one abbot Conally, abbot of Clunes, to Owen O'Neill and other Irish officers in Flanders, to acquaint them of the present state of the Kingdom, and how the Roman Catholics were threatened by the Scotch puritans and English presbyterians, and that they would for their own present safety, endeavour to secure as many magazined forts and garrisons in the north as possible, &c. In order to which, on the 22d of October, 1641, Sir Phelim O'Neill surprised Charlemont, and Sir Con Magenis the Newry and other places; and at the same time gentlemen employed on the same design to Dublin, being discovered, took no effect.

"Soon after this, the Scots in the north began their bloody massacres in the counties of Downe and Antrim, at Island Magee, Ballydary, Clonleck, Cumber, Gallagh, and Magheravorn, 500 poor souls destroyed without regard to age or sex. and that before one drop of blood was spilt by any Roman Catholic; though afterwards, when these unparalleled murthers were known, some of the loosest of the Irish rabble, being exasperated thereat, did, by way of retaliation, murther some British at Portadown, Clancan, Curbridge, and Belturbet."*

This narrative bears the stamp of soldierly simplicity and truth. Not only were Sir Phelim O'Neill's first feats of arms unstained by wholesale massacres of the defenceless and unwarlike; but not "one drop of blood was spilt by any Roman Catholic," till the mass of the people became "exasperated" by the "bloody massacres" that began at Island Magee, and fired the national heart with a fierce indignation which Religion alone could moderate or control.

This narrative, moreover, seems to fix the date of the massacre at Island Magee, a point much debated among historians. On the 15th

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* Gilbert, "Hist. of Affairs in Ireland, 1641-1652," vol. iii., part ii., pp. 196, 197. Also in *Carte Papers*, lxiv., p. 453.

November, 1641, the Castle of Lurgan surrendered to Sir Phelim O'Neill, who,—in violation, it is said, of the conditions stipulated, kept the commander and his family prisoners, "killed most of his servants, and treated all the townsmen in the same manner." This behavior of Sir Phelim's at Lurgan on Nov. 15, is absolutely opposed to that which had distinguished him on the 5th at Ballaghie, where the articles of capitulation were scrupulously observed, and the people were allowed to carry away all they possessed, with "trunks full of plate and money." If Sir Phelim did shed blood on this occasion, it must be after the massacre at Island Magee and in retaliation for that atrocious deed. But Colonel Henry O'Neill's silence about this occurrence at Lurgan, would induce any fair-minded reader to suspend judgment about its truth. He speaks of the deeds of revenge committed by "the Irish rabble," after the massacres enumerated above had been bruited abroad.

What, then, was this massacre of Island Magee, which some writers assign as the immediate cause of the rising of October 23, 1661? The country folk, the poor oppressed and enslaved native Catholics around Carrickfergus, in the first alarm and terror consequent on the uprising, fled for safety into a peninsula on the coast known as Island Magee. The Protestant refugees in Carrickfergus, in revenge for the loss of their homes, united with the Scotch garrison, and fell by night on the multitude assembled in the Peninsula, and put them to the sword without discrimination of age or sex. Carte, though himself uncertain as to the exact date of this slaughter, says "it is confidently asserted, that the said massacre happened in this month of November."

The Irish need no justification for rising against the tyranny of the men who ruled the land from Dublin Castle; they would have been less than men, if believing that Scotch and English Puritanism was invading Ireland to blot out with the last Celt the last vestige of Catholicism, they did not make a supreme effort to defend their ruined altars, their hunted bishops and priests, their own threatened lives and the lives of their dear ones. We must take the Proclamation issued on the very day of the rising, as the solemn expression of the aims and spirit of the insurgents.

"These are to intimate and make known unto all persons whatsoever in and throughout the whole country, that the true intention and meaning of us whose names are hereunto subscribed. . . . The present assembling . . . is no ways intended against our sovereign Lord the King, nor the hurt of any of his subjects, either of the English or Scottish nation; but only for the defence and liberty of ourselves and the Irish natives of this kingdom. And we hereby further expressly declare that whatever hurt hitherto hath been done to any person or persons whatsoever shall be presently repaired. And we will that every person forthwith, after proclamation hereof, make their speedy repaire unto their own houses under pain of death, and that no further hurt be done to any one under like pain."

"One work out of many written at the time in defence of the Irish, and thus destroyed (by order of the Government), has survived. It seems to be a reprint at Kilkenny, in December, 1642, of a work published in London, in the form of a discourse between a Privy Councillor of Ireland and one of the Council of England. The Privy Councillor of Ireland treats of the causes of the Insurrection, taking up Irish grievances from the Earl of Strafford's government in 1633, and touches towards the end upon the collection of outrages by the seven despoiled ministers, called the Remonstrance, which was published in the month of April, 1642. He does not confute the massacre, only because none is charged. His complaint is that they have given an exaggerated account of murders and outrages.—'Doubtless the Irish did, in many places,' he says, 'kill men resisting them in their pillaging; but the report of their killing women, or men desiring quarter, and such like inhumanities, were inventions to draw contributions, and make the enemy odious. But sure I am (he continues) that there was no such thing done while I was there in Ireland about six months after these *sturres* began. And though unarmed men, women, and children were killed in thousands by command of the Lords Justices, the Irish sent multitudes of our people, both before and since these cruelties done, as well officers and soldiers as women and children, carefully conveyed, to the seaports and other places of safety; so *let us call them what we will,—bloody inhuman traitors, or barbarous rebels,—we have suffered ourselves to be much exceeded by them in charity, humanity, and honour.*' To hear the English complain of massacre is about as entertaining as it proved to the Rhegians to hear the Carthaginians complain of anything effected by guile. For it was only Victory that decided, with her usual contempt for justice, that the Irish, and not the English, should be noted to the world for massacre."*

These "Popish Massacres" are, therefore, an invention of Protestant Irish and English writers. Sir John Temple, whose work, published in London, was written to fan the flames of national and religious hatred against the Irish Catholics, succeeded in his ignoble purpose. The mischief he helped to do we care not now to estimate. But he lived to blush for the evil notoriety his abominable falsehoods had gained him. The booksellers of London, in 1674, finding that the work was out of print and that its popularity was undiminished, urged the author to issue another edition. He refused. Lord Essex, who was at the time Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, writing to Mr. Coventry, Secretary of State, on Jan. 6, 1674–5, thus mentions the fact: "You mention a book that was newly published, concerning the cruelties committed in Ireland, at the beginning of the late war. Upon further inquiry I find Sir J. Temple, Master of the Rolls here, author of that book, was this last year sent to by several stationers of London, to have his consent to the printing thereof. But he assures me that he utterly denied it; and whoever printed it, did it without his knowledge. Thus much I thought fit to add to what I formerly said upon this occasion, that I might do this gentleman right, in case it was suspected he had any share in publishing this new edition." †

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* Prendergast, "The Cromwellian Conquest," 70–71. The work here quoted by Mr. Prendergast—himself a Protestant—is entitled: "A Discourse between two Councillors of State, the one of England, and the other of Ireland." Kilkenny, Dec. 10, 1642. Copy in MSS., *Carte Papers*, vol. iv., No. 54.

† "Letters of Essex" (4to. London, 1770), p. 2.

What, then, could have been the purpose of this Conspiracy of Falsehood and Perjury into which Sir John Temple entered with his fellow-calumniators Burton, Warwick, Rapin and Borlase,—without mentioning the Historian Hume?

To nurse to its full growth that ferocious and fanatical public opinion, then prevailing in the Protestant Community on both sides of the Channel, and calling for the annihilation of the Celtic race and the Catholic Religion in Ireland. This public opinion held up as legitimate and meritorious a war of extermination against the "Irish Papists." The pretended massacres, while exciting to the highest pitch the hatred of race against race and of the followers of one religion against those of another,—stimulated the characteristic land-hunger of the Anglo-Saxon and the Norman, by urging all who had money to contribute it toward the war in Ireland, and holding out the broad lands of the Irish Catholics as the result of the venture and the prize to be won by the soldier.

The Lords Justices in Dublin Castle, as well as the men who prostituted their pens and their conscience in the work of misrepresentation, were all laboring together to further that war of extermination, which culminated in the massacres of Cromwell, the driving of the Catholic-Irish into Connaught.

The insurrection for several months after October 23, 1641, was confined to Ulster. It was the interest and the purposes of the men who governed in Dublin to cause it to extend to every province and county in Ireland. This is evident from the manner in which the Lords Justices and their subordinates goaded to madness and persecuted the Catholics, whether of English or of Celtic stock, in those provinces to which the insurrection had not spread.

In Munster, which remained perfectly tranquil while the North resounded with the clash of arms, Lord Muskery, a Catholic, offered to raise and equip at his own expense one thousand men. This offer was rejected by the Lords Justices. About the middle of December some bands of idle vagabonds from various parts of Tipperary began to pillage and ransom the rich proprietors; among the sufferers was a brother-in-law of Sir William St. Leger, the Lord President of Munster. Thereupon the latter, under pretence of following up the marauders and recovering the cattle they had driven off, scoured the country with a body of horse, killing, hanging and burning, without stopping to inquire who were the innocent and which the guilty. The chief nobles and gentlemen of the country waited upon St. Leger and remonstrated with him on this wanton and indiscriminate cruelty. The people, they said, were exasperated, and were assembling tumultuously. To secure the peace they—the nobles and gentlemen—requested to be actively employed in maintaining order.

"The President"—says Carte—". . . in a hasty and furious manner answered them, 'that they were all rebels; and he would not trust one soul of them; but thought it more prudent to hang the best of them.' And in this extraordinary passion he continued all the while these and other persons of quality, their neighbors, were waiting upon him. This made them all withdraw and return to their houses, much resenting this rudeness and severity, as well as very uncertain about their own safety; some of them imagining that this distrusting of their loyalty and destroying of their reputations was only the preface to a design of taking away their lives.

"From Clonmell, Sir W. St. Leger marched into the county of Waterford, and his soldiers on the way, as they went and returned from the rout of the Wexford rebels, killed several harmless poor people, not at all concerned in the rebellion, or in the plunder of the country; which also incensed the gentlemen of that county." *

All this, as the reader already foresees, is only the carrying out of the design conceived by the Lords Justices, communicated to such willing subordinates as St. Leger, and by them accepted and acted upon.

It is better, however, in order to establish the fact of this nefarious plot beyond all doubt, to give at once our proofs.

In Wright's one-sided history, where the "massacres" perpetrated

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* Carte, vol. i., p. 264.

by the Ulster insurgents are set forth in order to excite the wrath of the English public,—we still find the author forced to confess that the Lords Justices Parsons and Borlase acted, all through these days of terror and alarm, consistently with their cherished purpose of provoking a general insurrection, and of inducing the English Parliament and nation to make of its suppression a war of extermination.

Their first step was to usurp all the executive and legislative powers, so as to have no check in carrying out their contemplated measures. The Irish Parliament stood prorogued till the beginning of November; they prorogued it still further till the following February. The Courts of Law were adjourned; that of Exchequer alone being kept open to receive and collect the royal revenues. The Catholics of the Pale who had little, if any, sympathy with the northern insurgents, offered their services to the Privy Council, and asked for arms. This embarrassed the Government. "For the Lords Justices were actuated by a puritanical hatred of Papists. . . . They delivered out a small quantity of arms and ammunition to those who were more exposed to danger, with the determination not to arm the Pale effectually, until they were driven to it by absolute necessity."

The alarm and confusion in the capital, though very deeply felt by the mass of the citizens, were not, assuredly, shared in by the Government. All their movements were those of men who were playing a part. They had laid the train, and fired the fuse, and could not be astonished by the explosion. Two regiments were levied among the fugitives who came crowding into Dublin; one of them was sent to Drogheda under Sir Henry Tichborne, the other was placed under the command of Sir Charles Coote. "And these troops, as might easily be expected from the materials of which they were composed, were but too ready when the occasion offered, to revenge their own sufferings by savage reprisals upon their enemies." Thus Mr. Wright.

On the 25th of October, two days after the first outbreak in the North, the Lords Justices sent the informer Owen O'Connolly, with a letter to Lord Leicester, the Lord Lieutenant in London, demanding a large subsidy from the English Parliament and a pension for the informer, who had well acted his part in the farce of "discovering" a Plot, which Parsons and Borlase had so sedulously hatched from the beginning.

Parliament acceded to both demands, and decreed "that the English Papists of any quality should be secured in the counties in which they were residing, and that no person except merchants should be allowed to pass over into Ireland without a certificate from the Committee of both Houses of Parliament, which was appointed at the same time for the exclusive consideration of Irish affairs." To this Joint Committee, from this moment forward, belongs in fact all the sovereign powers of the Executive in dealing with Ireland. Parsons and Borlase will use it as an instrument for their own purpose, while seemingly only executing its decrees.

Every possible means is taken to raise to the highest pitch in England and Scotland the terror and fierce anger caused by the first news of the "massacres" in Ireland. Steps were taken to have 2,000 Scots sent directly from their own country to the aid of their countrymen in Ulster, though these, as we have seen, had suffered no molestation from the insurgents. In England, it was resolved to raise for the same purpose a force of 6,000 foot and 2,000 horse.

Meanwhile Parsons and Borlase remained inactive, allowing the tidings sent to England, like fire set to a *prairie* in midsummer, to spread all through the land. In Ireland the Earl of Ormonde, who commanded the army, was impatient to march against the insurgents; but was prevented from doing so by the Lords Justices. "The timidity of the Governors gave rise to a variety of rumors; some attributing it to a want of courage; others to jealousy of the Earl of Ormonde; and others, who look further into the causes of things, *scrupled not to say that the Lords Justices were unwilling to put a speedy end to the insurrection*, but that they were desirous of urging the great Catholic families into it, with a view to new and extensive confiscations. . . . . The first intelligence of the proceedings in England, and of the preparations for sending over an English army, was received with the utmost exultation, and decided the Lords Justices in exhibiting more openly their hatred to the Catholics in general. They no longer concealed their suspicions of the loyalty of the Catholics of the Pale, and they recalled those arms which they had intrusted to them, thus leaving them without means of defence. This step was followed by several other unpopular or unwise measures.

"A new proclamation appeared, commanding all persons, except the ordinary inhabitants of the Capital, to leave it within twenty-four hours, under pain of death. The pretext for this measure was, that the landholders and tenantry of the Pale, by flying to the Capital, left their lands without defence; but its effect, *which could hardly have been unforeseen,* was to compel them to seek that protection which was denied them in Dublin, by joining in the rebellion.

"The Irish Government suppressed or rendered ineffective by their exceptions and qualifications, the order of the English Parliament to offer a general pardon to such of the rebels as would submit within a given time, a measure which could hardly have failed at that moment to produce the most beneficial effect; and their object in the suppression could hardly be doubted, when it was observed that in the few counties least affected by the rebellion, where the pardon was offered, *it was combined with a general exception of the freeholders.*" *

The historian, after describing the assembling of the Irish Chambers for the 17th of November,—a single day session, at first, and then lengthened by a second day,—says that two memorials were sent to England: one to the King, asking for a confirmation of "the graces," and the appointment of Ormonde to the lord-lieutenancy; the other from the Lords Justices to the Earl of Leicester, representing to him and the English Privy Council, that the demands made of the King were only to "benefit the Irish at the expense of England." They said his (i. e., Lord Dillon, bearer of the memorial to the King) object was to possess the King with the belief that Ireland might be reduced to obedience by its own resources; whereas if the Parliament would enter vigorously upon the work of conquest with an English army and English money, it would soon repay itself with immense advantage by the extensive forfeiture of the estates of Irish Catholics. This bait took with the House of Commons. When Lord Dillon had embarked with Lord Taafe to carry the memorial to the King, a sudden storm drove them from their direct course; and when at length they proceeded on their way to London, on reaching Ware they were seized by a warrant of the House of Commons, their papers were taken and suppressed, and they were retained in custody until their mission was of no importance, and then they were suffered to escape." *

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* Wright's "Hist. of Ireland," under year 1641, vol. i.

We quote this writer because his evident partiality will only permit him to say against the English side what no ingenuity can enable him to suppress or to disguise.

It is forever placed on record, therefore, as unquestionable historical truth, that the Irish Government, controlled by Parsons and Borlase, not only did not suppress the insurrection which they had provoked, but labored to spread it; that they withheld or mutilated the proclamation of pardon issued by the English Parliament; and entered into a conspiracy with that Parliament, "to conquer Ireland with an English army supported by English money; and that the object held out to Parliament and People was the extensive forfeiture of the estates of Irish Catholics."

In the Journals of the House of Commons is recorded collateral evidence, which should be read to convince one's self of the condition of the public mind of England in relation to this conquest. Let the most incredulous read the following and then judge for himself.

"February 1, 1641–2.

"*Proposition made by divers gentlemen, citizens, and others, for the speedy and effectual reducing of the Kingdom of Ireland.*

"1st. They do compute that less than a million of money will not perfect that work.

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* "Hist. of Ireland," i., p. 697.

"2d. They do conceive, that the work being finished; there will be in that Kingdom, of confiscated lands, such as go under the name of profitable lands, ten millions of acres, English measure.

"3d. That two millions and a half of those acres, to be equally taken out of the four provinces, will sufficiently satisfy those that shall advance the million of money.

"4th. That the two millions and a half of acres may be divided amongst them after this proportion, viz.:

For each adventure of £200, a thousand acres in Ulster.
" " £300, " " Connaught.
" " £450, " " Munster.
" " £600, " " Leinster.

"All English measure, consisting of meadow, arable and profitable pasture: the bogs, woods, and barren mountains being cast in, over and above.

"These two millions and a half of acres to be holden in free and common socage of the King, as of his Castle of Dublin.

"5th. That out of these two millions and a half of acres, a constant rent shall be reserved to the Crown of England, after this proportion, viz.:

"Out of each acre thereof in

Ulster	1*d.*
Connaught	2½*d.*
Munster	2¼*d.*
Leinster	3*d.*

"Whereby his Majesty's revenue, out of these lands, will be much improved, besides the advantage that he will have, by the coming to his hands of all other the lands of the rebels and their personal estates, without any charge to his Majesty." *

As we have seen from the narrative of the historian Wright, the English Parliament was but too ready to accept such "propositions." An act was passed without delay, declaring that "Whereas, divers worthy and well affected persons, perceiving that many millions of acres of the rebels' lands of that kingdom (Ireland), which go under the name of profitable lands, will be confiscate and to be disposed of, and that in that case two millions and a half of those acres, to be equally taken out of the four provinces of that kingdom, may be allotted for the satisfaction of such persons as shall disburse any sums of money for the reducing of the rebels there, which would effectually accomplish the same, have made these propositions ensuing, &c." *

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* "Journals of the House of Commons of England," ii., 435.

Leland records the same fact; and with his acknowledgment we close this particular argument.

"The Commons of England had *very early* petitioned that the King would not alienate any of the escheated lands, that might accrue to the Crown from the rebellion in Ireland: and they had lately proceeded in a scheme for raising money from the lands thus expected to escheat. A bill was framed for repaying those who should advance certain sums, for repressing of the rebels, (as was pretended) by vesting them with proportional estates in Ireland. It evidently tended to exasperate the malcontents, and to make all accommodation desperate; but it was not on this account less acceptable to the popular leaders." †

By this Macchiavellian policy the entire Catholic population of Ireland was driven into insurrection; rebellion we cannot, must not call it, knowing that the King encouraged the rising, though he dared not openly give it his approbation. Nay, when the conflict with the Long Parliament was about to enter on its last stage, Charles was only prevented from crossing over to Ireland and placing himself at the head of the Catholic forces, by the threat of the Commons that they would consider his departure to be an abdication of the throne. They were but too well aware that the King's only hope, in his then desperate strait, was to use O'Neill's army as his own. The rebels,—in the real legal sense of the term,—were the Irish Government in Dublin Castle and the Parliament that sat in Westminster, with the armed bands of English and Scotch Puritans then leagued against the royal authority.

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* Rushworth, "Historical Collection of Private Passages of State," vol. iv., p. 556.

† "Hist. of Ireland," iii., 186.

Why should we deem it necessary to relate here the steps by which Parsons and Borlase forced the Catholics of the Pale, and with them the Anglo-Irish Catholics throughout the other provinces, to unite with the insurgents? Or why should we relate the horrible cruelties committed in Dublin and the adjoining counties by Sir Charles Coote, and the men who disgraced the sacred names of religion, humanity and civilization by excesses worthy of the most ferocious savages of Africa, or North America?

The two Irish Chambers, from which all Catholics had been expelled, acted entirely under the direction of the Lords Justices and the Privy Council. "A declaration was drawn up by them in an address to the King and Parliament of England, praying that a present course might be taken for executing the penal laws in force in Ireland against all the Papists in that Kingdom, and particularly in the City of Dublin; that bills might be transmitted into England in order to make all the laws there against the Popish clergy and their relievers to be enacted in Ireland: and that it might not be in the power of any governor of that Kingdom, to suspend, inhibit, or connive at, the exemption from such laws, or any of them. If it was the design of the Council that the rebellion should be thought a war of religion, and a total extirpation of all Catholics and of Popery was the scheme proposed, then nothing was more to the purpose than this declaration. But it was a measure of which all wise and good men dreaded the consequence."*

Then the pamphleteering crusade undertaken in England against the Irish Papists, as well as the fierce homilies and harangues delivered for months from Puritan pulpits,—all tended to impress the excited imaginations of the English public with the firm belief that Ireland was another land of Canaan, and that to exterminate wholly and without pity the entire Catholic population, was a work as pleasing to God as the slaughter of the Canaanites in the days of Moses and Joshua.

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* Warner, p. 212.

This is also an historical fact.

In Ireland, once the Nobility and Gentry of the Pale were driven into the insurgent ranks, they hastened in Dublin and elsewhere to indict by name all landed proprietors, so that the taint of treason should at once entail the forfeiture of their estates. Their lives, after that, were also forfeited. Carte tells us, that "above a thousand such indictments had been found by one Grand Jury in the space of two days." Of 3,000 persons indicted on the same grounds, "2,000 were persecuted to outlawry by Sir Philip Percival, clerk of the Crown," and their estates were confiscated. They were cited to appear, when to appear was certain death; and, not appearing, they were outlawed!

Thus in Dublin. In Munster the Earl of Cork, with the assistance of Lords Barrymore, Dungarvan, and Broghill, found juries to bring in similar bills of indictment against 1,100 persons, all of whom were outlawed.

These are only specimens of the way in which LAW was administered in Ireland by the men who professed only to aim at civilizing, refining, and elevating the natives.

But the war itself? It attracted the attention and won the sympathy of Christendom. The accession of the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, and of their compeers in Munster and Connaught, to the forces under Phelim O'Neill, came too late to ensure the success and the prestige which a first course of unsullied victories would have gained. They came too late: and they did not bring their heart to the work of war. And because they did not go heart and soul into it, they proved to be an element of confusion, of strife, of division, of weakness.

Utterly unprepared and unprovided as were the bands of half-armed or wholly unarmed Gallowglass and Kerne who rallied round the standards of O'Neill, O'Donnell, Maguire, and O'Reilly,—they gave to the cause their whole heart and soul and strength; all the lofty devotion inspired by a love of religion persecuted and downtrodden, all the fiery enthusiasm of the Celtic nature fired by the love of country and the memory of such wrongs as a people had not endured since the days of Egyptian bondage and oppression. The Celtic tribal or clannish organization, though shattered to fragments by the preceding wars, the proscription and annihilation of the ancient chieftaincies, and the breaking up of all the old ties of village, district, and provincial communities by the plantations of Strafford, James and Elizabeth,—was still a great force of aggregation at the beginning of this new struggle for Nationality and Religion. It drew Creaghts, and Kerne, and Galloglass from every part of Ireland around the representatives of the ancient and honored chiefs. But this very attachment to the heir of each one of the great Celtic names, turned out, when there was need of unity of command, and undivided counsels, to be the source of their greatest weakness and disorganization. The members of each clan would fight only under their traditional chief. Transcendent military genius and the ripest experience in strategy, counted for nothing when their professor did not bear the magic name of Maguire, or O'Donnell, or O'Neill. It was a bitter humiliation for the Celtic soldiers to march under the command of an Irish Catholic Noble, no matter what his rank or his ability, when he was only of the Sassmach blood.

A common religion and the love of a common country formed the unitive forces which drew the men of both races together in arms against the common foe of all that they held dearest and most sacred. The attachment to the ancient Celtic chiefs acted like opposite electricities in repelling from each other elements, which, if united firmly, must, by the very weight of numbers, have borne down in the beginning all opposition; and, as the war advanced, and experience gave discipline, and success self-reliance, they would, from mutual contact, have learned mutual esteem and trust.

But in this paragraph we have foreshadowed the issue of this noble, this heroic struggle, and accounted for its failure.

We must not pass it by, however, without recording the true

Christian principles of brotherly love and humanity which mark the public declarations of the Confederated Catholics, as well as the conduct of officers and soldiers toward the enemy, armed and unarmed.

We have seen above the proclamation issued by Phelim O'Neill at the very first moment of the insurrection. The Remonstrance addressed by the Insurgents of the County Cavan to the Lords Justices and Council in Dublin, is that of men, who, though sorely aggrieved, despoiled, oppressed, and refused the privileges of citizenship, and the protection of the laws,—yet have refrained from bloodshed while rising to vindicate their national rights. They do not deny that, in the first insurrectionary movement, disorders and regrettable acts of violence have been committed. These are inevitable where any long-suffering people rise to shake off the yoke of civil or religious oppression. "As for the mischiefs and inconveniences," they say, "that have already happened through the disorder of the common sort of people against the English inhabitants, or any other person, we, with the noblemen and gentlemen of this and each other several county of this Kingdom, are most willing and ready to use our and their best endeavors in causing restitution and satisfaction to be made, as in part we have already done." And they press the Government to return a speedy and favorable answer to their demands, "for avoiding the continuance of the barbarity and uncivility of the Commonalty, who have committed many outrages and insolencies without any order, consent, or privity of ours."

Dr. Henry Jones, who bore this Remonstrance to Dublin, and who has left us a detailed account of all that happened in Cavan during the first year of the war,—gives to all the actions and motives of the O'Reillys and their followers as unfavorable a coloring as he can, but has, nevertheless, no deed of blood to register against them. They, a despoiled, disinherited, and disfranchised people, rise in arms to defend their lives and the wretched and precarious homes left to them by the Plantations of James and Elizabeth,—against the threatened extirpation of their race and religion by the Parliamentarians.

How have the popular masses been treated by the Planters, and by their civil and military rulers for the last half century, not in Cavan only, but all through the North? We have only to recall Thomas Blennerhassett's "hunting parties" to have a conception of the lessons of humanity, justice, and civilization the O'Reillys and Maguires with their people have been taught. That Creaght, and Kerne, and Galloglass, when they rose to recover their own, had no grateful memories and showed no tender feelings of commiseration to these Planters, who had run them down and slaughtered them, as they did the wolf,—was surely not unnatural. And yet there was neither massacre, nor bloodshed, nor brutal violence in the proceedings of these "rebels" during these weeks, which have been represented as weeks of indiscriminate slaughter, when "blood ran in rivers all over the land." The "1,500 souls—men, women and children," who set forth together under escort for the Pale, were set upon, in leaving Belturbet, by the lawless crowd, eager for plunder, and stripped of all they possessed. In spite of the insinuations of Dr. Jones, there is nothing to connect the insurgent chiefs or their soldiers with this outrage. Was it wonderful, if the murderous exploits of Sir Charles Coote and Sir William St. Leger had already reached Cavan, and inflamed to fury the popular mind? Yet, even the men who plundered the fugitives, abstained from further violence. "Some were killed," says Dr. Jones. Of course the men thus set upon resisted, and murderous weapons were used. But the "some" would not have failed to be "many," had any but the merest "few" perished in the *mêlée*. As to outrages of another nature, they are not so much as hinted at by the narrator, from his first page to his last. If we place the manifold causes of resentment and revenge by the side of what occurred at Belturbet, we shall pause before we accuse a whole people of inhumanity for the acts of a rabble every one of whom was still smarting under the memory of some wrong. But where can we find 1,500 unarmed and defenceless men, women and children of the odious race and creed of the Insurgents, and placed at the mercy,—I do not say of an English rabble,—but of the soldiery of Sir Charles

Coote, or Sir William St. Leger, or Lord Forbes, or even the Earl of Ormonde,—who would have suffered as little from the brutal and ferocious passions let loose and encouraged by these commanders?

It is one feature of this last desperate struggle of the Irish for all that they held most dear,—that the honor of woman was safe wherever their standard waved. Can their enemies make such boast as this? . . . But we abstain.

The author of the "Cromwellian Conquest," who refers to original documents for every one of his statements, and gives them generally in the very words of the original, thus speaks of the insurrection in Cavan:

"In the county Cavan there were no murders. Bishop Bedel of Kilmore remained in his palace unharmed, his flocks untouched, surrounded by crowds of English that had fled thither as to a post of safety, and lay in his barns and stables, and even on the hay in the churchyard. Thither fled the Bishop of Elphin and a train of Roscommon exiles, and there he enjoyed such a heaven upon earth for three weeks, that he would willingly have endured another Irish stripping to enjoy again such holy converse. For the Irish never hindered these two Bishops and their poor flocks from using their religious exercises, *though their own was made a crime; and seven priests, reprieved by the King, were hanged at this time, at the angry demand of the House of Commons,* SIMPLY FOR SAYING MASS. In November, an Irish priest arrived at Bishop Bedel's, to conduct them to Dublin. The Bishop of Elphin and the rest departed, leaving Bedel and his family behind, who, with holy courage, resolved to stay. Bedel died there in February, 1642, and the Irish paid him honor by firing over his grave. His family continued there unmolested till 15th June, 1642, when they joined a party of 1,340 English, that by treaty with the Irish were escorted safely to Sir Henry Tichborne's garrison at Drogheda. Of the Bishop of Elphin's company not one miscarried, nor was a thread of the garments that Bedel gave the stript English touched by the rebels on their way, which the

Bishop attributed to Bedel's parting blessing,* not to the fidelity and care of their guide, or the humanity of the people." †

The very first act of the assembled Confederates at Kilkenny, in May, 1642, was to draw up a solemn declaration of their rights, and of the rules to be followed by all under their authority.

"We declare"—they say—"that war openly Catholic to be lawful and just; in which war if some of the Catholics be found to proceed out of some particular and unjust title—covetousness, cruelty, revenge or hatred, or any such unlawful private intentions,—we declare them therein grievously to sin, and therefore worthy to be punished and refrained by ecclesiastical censures (if advised thereof) they do not amend.

"We straightly command all our inferiors, as well churchmen as laymen, to make no distinction at all between the old and ancient Irish, and no . . . . comparison or differences between provinces, cities, towns, or families. . . .

"The ordinaries of every place, the preachers, confessors, parish-priests, and other churchmen shall endeavor to see perfect peace and charity between provinces, counties, cities, and families, as the obligation of this Union requireth.

"We ordain and decree that all and every such as from the beginning of this present war have invaded the possessions of goods as well movable as immovable . . . . of any Irish Protestant being not adversary of this cause, and do detain any such goods shall be excommunicated, as by this present decree we do excommunicate them. . . And we declare involved in this censure all and every of them who directly or indirectly hinder or forbid to pay their due rents. . . .

"We will and declare all those that murder, dismember, or grievously strike;—all thieves, unlawful spoilers, robbers of any goods, extorters, together with all such as favor, receive, or any ways assist them, to be excommunicated, and so to remain until they completely amend and satisfy. . . ."

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* "Letter of John Bishop of Elphin to Ormonde," dated 4th May, 1682 (*Carte Papers*, vol. 39; Endorsed by Ormonde).

† "Cromwellian Conquest," pp. 62, 63.

As to the military code imposed upon the army itself, nothing could be more admirable, better adapted to enforce discipline, and to prevent effectually all acts of violence or outrage on the peaceful populations.

The cruelties imputed to Sir Phelim O'Neill and his command at the opening of the war, have never been satisfactorily proven; and until peremptory proof is given of them, we are bound to believe in the sincerity of his proclamations and other public utterances. It ill becomes men who palliate or excuse or even approve the horrible cruelties of the Parliamentary Generals and soldiery to do violence to ambiguous or uncertain allegations in order to convict of savage cruelty a man who must have prevented bloodshed and outrage wherever he could.

As to Phelim's great kinsman, Owen O'Neill, all his recorded words and acts prove the nobleness, gentleness, and purity of purpose, which were the ground-work of his character. "My coming to this kingdom," he writes to Ormonde, "was not to disturb it, but to help to give it such peace as would be for the honor and satisfaction of his Majesty and the nation; and no man living can say that I have done anything contrary to this resolution since my coming. . . . I shall take such course wherein no wrong shall be done or violence offered by those that receive my command in any of their quarters, and if any be done, I shall do what lies in me to see it redressed, as far as my power may extend."

In a letter to Lord Muskerry is a solemn statement of the great soldier's principles. "I do protest, swear, and vow before Almighty God, that I never harbored the least thought of ambition in anything yet, but that which I assuredly thought and imagined to redound to the freedom, preservation, and liberty of my King, country, religion, and nation; and that during the remainder of my days no private interest of my own, neither love, hatred, inducement, nor suggestion of any will persuade me to the contrary."

Next to this illustrious soldier, consistent with himself to the last, was the head of the Irish hierarchy, the Archbishop of Armagh, Hugh O'Reilly. He was, all through this war and the terrible years which followed, the soul and guide of the national party. "Forbearing all notice of the cruelties and bitter oppression which more immediately instigated the insurrection of 1641 (we quote the words of C. P. Meehan), we have only to state, that Archbishop O'Reilly, like the other members of the Irish hierarchy, did his utmost to restrain the violence of the people, who would have wreaked vengeance on their persecutors, had they been left to their own wild instincts, at that momentous crisis. With Sir Phelim O'Neill and Magennis, Lord Iveagh, he employed his great influence, urging them to keep the armed multitudes in check, and to prevent, so far as in them lay, the massacre and pillage of Protestants. Such salutary restraint, enforced by the exhortation of the primate, produced the most happy results; for the northern chieftains, and the rude array they commanded at the first outbreak, respected him too much to violate the lessons of forbearance and charity which he perseveringly inculcated. . . . . Borlase, Temple, and others have utterly ignored his interference on behalf of the Protestant colonists, who were then wholly at the mercy of the insurgents; but we have only to repeat that the exaggerations of those writers would wear some show of truth, if O'Reilly had not interposed his high authority to curb the fierce impulses of men grown desperate by reason of the flagrant injustice with which they had been treated by the canting knaves and bigots who then misgoverned Ireland."*

Hugh O'Reilly conceived—as the same author informs us—the idea of giving to the national movement, once it had received the support of the Catholics of the Pale, the regular organization it assumed at Kilkenny, in May, 1642. "Devoting all his energies to this grand object, O'Reilly convened a provincial synod at Kells early in March, 1642, when the bishops declared that the war undertaken by the Irish people, for their king, religion, and country, was just and lawful. In the May following, he caused a national synod, composed of prelates and lay lords, to meet at Kilkenny, where, after having ratified their former declaration, they framed an oath of association, to be taken by all their adherents, binding them to maintain the fundamental laws of Ireland, the free exercise of religion, and true allegiance to Charles I. Both synods were attended by the entire of the Irish hierarchy, either in person or by proxy, with the exception of Thomas Dease, bishop of Meath. . . ."

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* "Irish Hierarchy in the Seventeenth Century," pp. 163–4.

Happy had it been for the cause in which their all and the all of Ireland were involved, had the Bishop of Meath, and all men of position and influence like him, heartily supported from the beginning the insurgent commanders. Unity, unanimity, determination, and concentration of their strength in one direction at a time, would have made Phelim O'Neill and his confederates masters of every city and stronghold in Ireland, long before Owen O'Neill had left Flanders. When there was division and strife in the episcopal body as well as among the inferior clergy, how should there not be dissension among the nobility, gentry, and the people themselves? Everything in face of a powerful enemy, who never knew what it was to renounce a cherished purpose, or to loosen their hold on power or property once in their possession,—depended on union of minds, and unity of action. The single material weight of overwhelming numbers should have driven every Englishman out of Ireland from October 23, 1641, to January 1, 1642.

And then, when the inevitable struggle came with Cromwell, backed by the whole might and fanaticism of England,—the contest would not have been so unequal. Cruel, unscrupulous, unsparing as were both this General and his soldiers,—there never could have been a massacre of Drogheda, had there been a united Ireland, a whole nation in arms defending their altars, their homes, their country, and their liberties.

The Irish Catholics were sincerely and conscientiously devoted to the Stuart Kings. Much as they had suffered from the greed, the hypocrisy, the treachery of both Charles and his father, the Irish Catholic heart remained faithful to the King in his misfortune, and the Irish Catholic conscience never wavered in its allegiance to the ungrateful princes, with whom self was paramount to every other consideration.

One of the chief causes of division, defeat, disaster, and final destruction to the Confederates and the Catholic cause, was the presence in Ireland of Ormonde,—General-in-Chief of the royal forces at first, afterwards Lord-Lieutenant; a man who hated the Irish and the Catholic religion, whose whole aim was to break up the Confederacy, though in ruining it he also ruined the last hopes of his royal master. And scarcely less baneful to the national cause was the presence in the Confederate Councils and army of the Anglo-Irish Catholics, the Lords and Gentry of the Pale, to whom Dease, Bishop of Meath, belonged, and whose whole force always leaned towards Ormonde and compromise with the English. An impossible compromise and conciliation, as we know too well, and as they must have known, from the actions and proclamations of the Lords Justices, of the entire Parliamentary Party in England as well as in Ireland.

There have never been worse enemies of Ireland than men born on her own soil, whose affections and interests were in England.

PART FOURTH.

CROMWELL.

No age was spared, no sex, nay—no degree;
Not infants in the porch of life were free.
The sick, the old, who could but hope a day
Longer by Nature's bounty, not let stay:
Virgins and widows, matrons, pregnant wives,
All died. 'Twas crime enough that they had lives.
—BEN JONSON.

IN the preceding chapters we have seen the methods recommended by Edmund Spenser to the Earl of Essex, for "settling" Ulster and Connaught as Lord Grey de Wilton and Sir George Carew had settled Munster. These commanders, aided by such ruthless subordinates as Spenser himself, Walter Raleigh, and Walter's half-brother, Humphrey Gilbert, had so heartily plied sword, halter, and fire-brand, all through the fair lands of the south, that "from Dunquin in Kerry to Cashel in Tipperary, there was not heard the lowing of a cow or the voice of a herdsman." One might think that the "gentle" poet who penned the "Faery Queene" felt his heart touched with pity and remorse as he described the wide-spread desolation he had himself helped to make, the fearful massacres that had covered the land with unburied corpses, and the irremediable misery which was the lot of the few remaining sufferers. "In one year and a half" —he says—"they were brought to such wretchedness as any stony heart would have rued the sight. Out of every corner of the woods and glynns they came forth on their hands—for their legs could not bear them;—they looked like anatomies of death, and spoke like ghosts crying out of the grave; they flocked to a plot of water-cresses as to a feast, ... and soon after scraped the very carcasses out of the graves."

One should think that were criminals punished in the life to come, as Dante's immortal verse paints them, that Spenser and his fellow "desolators" must be seen everlastingly amid a frightful wilderness covered with unburied dead, and hunger-mad wretches sating their appetite on their remains;—watching there everlastingly, maddened by a hunger fiercer a hundred-fold, seeking to share in the horrid feast, and driven back from the carrion by yonder crowd; seeking to appease the thirst which fires their brain in yonder pool of blood, and repelled from it by the ever-reflected images of their victims.

Edmund Spenser's "stony heart" rued not on earth the desolation, the massacres, and the woe unfathomable of which he and his fellows were the authors. He only draws this terrible picture to show both Irish Lord-Lieutenants and an English Queen how Ireland could be conquered and the Irish race effectually "extirpated."

Well, his fellow-soldier and Patron, Mountjoy, profited well by this teaching, as Ulster bore witness in the last years of "Good Queen Bess." But it was reserved for Cromwell to apply, in its perfection, the scheme of conquest and anglification sketched by Spenser.

That condition of the public mind in England, which permitted and authorized the barbarities of Cromwell and his army, and which impelled the nation to aid him in his work of extermination and carry out in detail his plan for the "Settlement of Ireland," is a phenomenon in the history of religious aberrations and moral monstrosities.

Impartial History will trace back to the Solemn League and Covenant the fierce spirit of hatred against Popery and the Idolatry attributed to the Papists the principal source of that fanaticism which, in the Three Kingdoms, predisposed the readers of the Bible to view the Irish Catholics with the murderous intolerance of the Hebrew toward the Canaanite, and Ireland itself as another

Canaan from which the idolaters should be extirpated, root and branch, to make place for those professing the tenets of the goodly Puritan creed.

But the private interests of Englishmen and Scotchmen were as ardently enlisted in this crusade—for such it really became—as was their religious zeal and their national animosity. We have seen the Propositions made to the British Parliament as early as February 1642, and by them accepted, for raising an army to conquer Ireland, and divide 2,500,000 acres of its best lands among the men who "adventured" to advance the money. The King was simply permitted to sign the Act giving effect to this contract; its execution was entrusted to a Joint Committee composed, one half, of members of the Commons, and one half, of Subscribers to the Fund. Between them they named the general and officers of the proposed army of conquest. It was to consist of 5,000 foot and 500 horse. Sir John Whitelock, the Speaker of the House, declared that this expedition was to put an end to the interminable conflict of races in Ireland foretold by Giraldus Cambrensis, thus giving the lie to the ancient prophesy, "that Ireland would only be conquered just before the Day of Judgment." A pamphlet published at the time in London,—for pamphlets in that age did the exciting and misleading work done in ours by the daily journals,—set forth all these reasons, and urged upon the public attention the necessity and advantages of this plan of conquest.*

The contest between King and Parliament detained in England the 5,000 foot and 500 horse, under the command of Lord Wharton, raised and equipped for this purpose. A partial expedition, however, raised by the Adventurers, sanctioned by Parliament, and commanded by Lord Forbes, landed in Munster, in July, 1642. They were empowered to do all the mischief they could, and to hold and possess whatever they got. Lord Forbes gave a foretaste of Cromwell's temper, and a specimen of what Lord Wharton and his army were prepared to execute.

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* "Fidelity, Valour, and Obedience of the English declared, and a desire that the present forces now ready to bicker here in England, may be turned against the barbarous Irish rebels. By Walter Meredith, Gent." Small 4to. London, 1642.

In Galway the Lords Justices had appointed Sir Francis Willoughby, Governor. He was just the man to welcome Lord Forbes and allow him to give vent to his savage mood. So the Governor from his fort, and Lord Forbes from his ships, contrived and combined to force, by sheer and gratuitous cruelty, the whole province into open insurrection. The Earl of Clanrickarde, who was doing his utmost to maintain peace, thus describes to Ormonde the doings of the "noble pair of brothers in arms."

"Scarce any day passes without great complaints of both the captains of the fort and ship sallying out with their soldiers and trumpet, and troop of horse, burning and breaking open houses, taking away goods, preying of the cattle, with ruin and spoil, rather than supply to themselves; not only upon those that are protected, but upon them that are most forward to relieve and assist them; . . . shooting his ordinance into the town or threatening to do it; keeping disorderly sentries at every gate; abusing those that offer to go out; offering (threatening) to take them prisoners to the fort, and to exercise martial law upon them; killing and robbing poor people that come to market, burning their fisher-boats, and not suffering them to go out." *

"Whilst I was at Tirellan," he writes again, "in treaty with his lordship (Lord Forbes), and that my Lord President (Ranelagh) was then with him in the fort, I could see the country on fire, my tenants' goods and houses burnt, and four or five poor innocent creatures, women and children, inhumanly killed by some of his forces. And his Lordship, at his landing, having taken possession of Our Lady's Church on the west of Galway, their ancient burial place, *they did not only deface the church but digged up the graves and burnt the coffins and bones of the dead.*" †

Forbes had done the same in Munster. "Forbes landing his men took the Castle of Glin, the ancient seat of Thomas Fitzgerald, commonly known by the name of the Knight of the Valley, a gentleman who had always assisted the English, and never had appeared in the rebellion. Other officers often plundered all promiscuously; but this commander seems to have picked out such as continued in their duty, to be the objects of his fury and avarice. It was indeed no impolitic course, if his view was to make the rebellion universal; since a distinction of persons was certainly necessary to show them, that *an utter extirpation* (which was the table-talk of the Puritan Party) was not really intended."*

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* Carte, "Life of Ormonde," iii. 98.

† *Ibid.*, p. 109.

Of course, it was the acknowledged purpose of all these men to make the rebellion universal, in order to have, before the civilized world, some pretext for the universal massacre of the Irish Catholics of both races. The now historic orders given in Dublin by the Lords Justices and communicated to all military commanders, "to kill, burn, and destroy,"—"to consume, demolish, and destroy all the places where the rebels were relieved or harbored,"—"to kill, slay, and destroy all the rebels and their relievers;" and to crown all this bloody martial code came, on Feb. 23, 1641–42, this horrible proclamation from the Lords Justices and Council.

"ORDER TO THE EARL OF ORMONDE.

"*By the Lords Justices and Council,*

WM. PARSONS,
JO. BORLACE.

"The rebels having assembled themselves in arms in hostile manner, ... intending to starve this City and this State, ... deprive his Majesty of his crown and sovereignty here, and root out, murder and destroy all the British and Protestants in the Kingdom,

"It is resolved, That it is fit that his Lordship do endeavor with his Majesty's forces to wound, kill, slay, and destroy by all the ways and means he may, all the said rebels and their adherents and relievers; and burn, spoil, waste, consume, destroy, and demolish all the places, towns, and houses where the said rebels are or have been relieved and harbored, and all the hay and corn there; and kill and destroy all the men there inhabiting able to bear arms.

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* Carte, *Ibid.*, p. 109.

"Given at his Majesty's Castle of Dublin, 23d Feb., 1641–2.

R. DILLON, F. WILLOUGHBY,
THO. ROTHERAM, J. TEMPLE,
AD. LOFTUS, ROBERT MEREDITH."*

After perusing the decrees of the Synods of Kells and Kilkenny, the proclamations of Phelim O'Neill, the military code of discipline imposed on the Confederate armies, and the Christian utterances of Owen O'Neill,—one passes into another world, and finds himself among a different order of beings in this conclave held in Dublin Castle,—as if it were a conclave of fiends incarnate decreeing the indiscriminate slaughter of mankind, and the destruction of all that is fairest and most beautiful on God's earth.

We know now what spirit animates the Sir Francis Willoughby, some of whose fiendish performances we have been witnessing in Galway. We know where Sir John Temple imbibed that spirit of monstrous falsehood and calumny which afterwards impelled him to write in England about the 300,000 Protestants massacred in the first months of the rebellion.

This was done by Englishmen in Ireland.

But will not the purer atmosphere of England, where the religion of the Covenanters sheds its superior light on the Senate-chamber and the domestic hearth, forbid our thinking that any such sentiments or enactments as the above could find there their origin or their sanction?

Listen:

"OCT. 24, 1644.

"An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, commanding that no officer or soldier by sea or land, shall give any quarter to any Irishman, or to any Papist born in Ireland, which shall be taken in arms against the Parliament of England.

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* Carte, *Ibid.*, p. 61.

"The Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England do declare, that no quarter shall be given to any Irishman, or to any Papist born in Ireland, which shall be taken in hostility against the Parliament, either upon the sea, or within this Kingdom, or dominion of Wales; and therefore do order and ordain that the Lord General, Lord Admiral, and all other officers and commanders, both by sea and land, shall except all Irishmen, and all Papists born in Ireland, out of all capitulations and agreements, and compositions hereafter to be made with the enemy; and shall, upon the taking of every such Irishman or Papist born in Ireland as aforesaid, *forthwith put every such person to death.*

"And it is further ordered and ordained, that the Lord General, the Lord Admiral, and the committees of the several counties, do give speedy notice hereof to all subordinate officers and commanders by sea and land respectively; who are hereby required to use their utmost care and circumspection, that this Ordinance be duly executed; and lastly, the Lords and Commons do declare, that every officer and commander by sea or land, that shall be remiss or negligent in observing the tenor of this Ordinance, shall be reputed a favorer of the bloody rebellion of Ireland, and shall be liable to such condign punishment as the justice of both Houses of Parliament shall inflict upon him." *

"The bloody rebellion of Ireland," indeed! Let the impartial reader judge, after what has here been said, on which side rests the stain and guilt of bloodshed without motive or measure,—on the Irish "rebels" in arms for their King, their religion, their country,—or on the Parliamentary "rebels" in arms against the King, and against the dearest and most sacred rights of their own fellow-citizens.

We have seen with what kindness the Protestant Bishops of Kilmore and Elphin were treated by the O'Reillys in Cavan, and how the Bishop of Elphin with about 1,400 persons were safely conducted and escorted to Dublin and other cities of the Pale, "nor was a thread of the garments that Bedel gave the stript English touched by the rebels on their way." This was a signal proof of the efficacy of Phelim O'Neill's instructions to the subordinate commanders; and a still more touching evidence of the Christian counsels given by Hugh O'Reilly, Archbishop of Armagh, to his own kinsmen in arms.

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* Rushworth's Historical Collection, vol. v., p. 783. London Ed., 1692.

Wherever the family of the noble Archbishop commanded, not only Protestant bishops, ministers, and people were safe, but they were protected in the exercise of their own religious worship. When Bishop Bedel died the O'Reilly's attended his funeral with a guard of honor, and had a salute fired over his grave. As the war for Ireland progressed, and when Owen O'Neill was appointed General of the Confederate forces in the North, his great kinsman, who loved him dearly, encouraged him to make the strife a blameless one, unstained by the inhumanity which was the law with his opponents.

With this gentleness toward the English settlers in Ulster, compare these two facts related by men bitterly hostile to the Confederate cause and religion.

While the Lords Justices Parsons and Borlase were negotiating with the English Parliament for the re-conquest and final "settlement" of Ireland, they were successfully driving the English Catholics of the Pale into open insurrection, and exasperating by wholesale burnings and massacres the entire Irish population.

Sir Charles Coote, their willing instrument in all their bloody raids around Dublin, was also appointed governor of Dublin and provost-marshal.

Here is what Carte says of him, while fulfilling this double office:

"It was certainly a miserable spectacle to see every day numbers of persons executed by martial law, at the discretion or rather caprice of Sir Charles Coote, a hot-headed and bloody man, and as such accounted by the English and Protestants. Yet this was the man whom the Lords Justices picked out to entrust with a commission of

Martial Law, to put to death rebels or traitors, i. e., all such as he should deem to be so; which he performed with delight and a wanton kind of cruelty. And yet all this while the Justices sat frequently in Council, and the Judges in their usual seasons sat in their respective courts, spectators of, and countenancing, so extravagant a tribunal as Sir C. Coote's, and so illegal an execution of justice." *

Now for a specimen of this justice, in the first of the two cases alluded to:

"The cruelties of the martial law under Sir Charles Coote have been already mentioned," says Warner. "But about this time, when it was thought politic to discourage the submissions (of the insurgents), which were growing frequent, Father Higgins, a very quiet, pious, and inoffensive man, who had put himself under the protection of Lord Ormonde, and whom his lordship had brought with him to Dublin, was one morning seized; and without any trial or delay, or giving his lordship any notice of the intention, by Sir C. Coote's order hanged. Father Higgins officiated as a priest at Naas and in that neighborhood; had distinguished himself greatly by saving the English in those parts from spoil and slaughter; and had relieved several whom he found had been stripped and plundered; so far was he from engaging in the rebellion, or giving any encouragement to it. . . . Their hanging a man of character at all, deserving in many respects, and exceptionable in none but his religion, inclines one to think that they intended this war to be understood to be a war of religion." †

Here is the second example:

Borlase informs us that "the soldiers were grown so implacable to the Irish, as they could scarce endure any ordinary Papist, much less suffer a rebel to be admitted amongst them." ‡

"The case of a priest of the name of White, chaplain of the Countess of Westmeath, strongly illustrates this insatiable rage for blood

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* Carte, "Life of Ormonde," vol. i., 279.

† Rev. Fernando Warner, "Hist. of the Rebellion," p. 182.

‡ "Hist. of the Execrable Irish Rebellion," p. 70.

and slaughter. The Marquis of Ormonde, with all his power, as commander-in-chief of the army, was unable to save the life of this unfortunate clergyman, against whom no crime was alleged but his clerical character. He had surrendered himself to the Marquis, who had given him a protection. But having ventured from the Countess's house, he was seized, and though Ormonde strove to save him, even only to take him to Dublin for trial, it was in vain. A mutiny took place, and the Marquis was obliged to abandon him, to sate the rage of an infuriated soldiery, by whom he was immolated on the altar of fanaticism and national rancor." *

"The Irish writers," says the author last quoted, "accuse Sir Charles Coote of issuing orders to the butchering parties he sent out in every direction '*not to spare the least child though but a span long.*' † This charge is corroborated by the following statement of the Rev. Dr. Nalson:

"'I have heard a relation of my own, who was captain in that service, relate, that no manner of compassion or discrimination was showed either to age or sex; but that the little children were promiscuously sufferers with the guilty; and if any who had some grains of compassion reprehended the soldiers for this unchristian inhumanity, they would scoffingly reply, *Why? Nits will be lice.* And so would dispatch them.'" ‡

We have seen above the sanguinary orders of the Lords Justices, commanding indiscriminate slaughter and ruthless devastation. Leland assures us that "in the execution of these orders, the Lords Justices declare that the soldiers slew all persons promiscuously, not sparing the women, and sometimes not the children." §

It is most painful to have to dwell on these horrors; still the partial mention of them is necessary both to establish the unquestioned truth of the barbarities committed in the name of England, of religion, and civilization, and the glorious fact that they were all on one side.

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* *Vindiciœ Hibernicœ*, p. 413.

† "Ireland's Case Briefly Stated," p. 43.

‡ Nalson, "Collection of the Great Affairs of State," ii., Intro., p. vii.

§ "Hist. of Ireland," iii., p. 198.

While Charles I. and Ormonde, his lieutenant in Ireland, were most anxious to conclude a peace with the Confederates, the Parliamentary Party in both countries were equally busy in frustrating all hopes of a peace. We have seen the Ordinance of the English Parliament forbidding to give any quarter to any Irishman or any Papist born in Ireland, either on sea or on land.

It was faithfully carried out both in the spirit and in the letter. Thus, in May, 1644, Captain Swanley captured at sea a detachment of one hundred and fifty men sent over to England by Ormonde for the King's service. Seventy of these happening to be Irishmen, or Papists born in Ireland, were tied back to back and thrown overboard. For this heroic achievement of the Puritan chivalry Swanley was thanked by Parliament and ordered to be presented with a chain of gold worth £200. The London *Times* did not then exist to give voice to English public opinion upon such brave feats as this. But, says Mr. Prendergast, "The London papers made merry upon it, saying, 'Captain Swanley made those who would not take the Covenant, take the water with their heads downwards; . . . . he made trial if an Irish Cavalier could swim without hands.'"* A Colonel Mytton did the same with another detachment of Ormonde's soldiers.

"The Parliament of Scotland, in 1644, had passed a similar ordinance against quarter, by agreement with the Parliament of England. Accordingly after the defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh, in 1649, the Scottish Parliament 'ordained' that all Irish soldiers and their followers in the several prisons of Selkirk, Jedburgh, Glasgow, Dunbarton, and Perth should be executed without any assize or process, 'conform to the treaty betwixt both kingdoms passed in Act.' In one day, eighty women and children, some being infants at the mother's breast, were cast over a high bridge, and in this way destroyed, only for being the wives and children of Irish soldiers.

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* See *Mercurius Aulicus* for May, 1644. 4to. London.

But this was no murder, for it was 'conform' to law. On the other hand, it was murder for the Irish troops attacking a castle to have killed any of the garrison, if they did not happen to be in the pay of the State."*

Are we reading the History of the French Revolution? of the "massacres of September?" or of *les noyades de Nantes?* Did the ferocious Carrierè take for his models Swanley and Mytton? Did the Paris *Septembriseurs* tear a leaf from the records of these super-civilized Scotch?

During the war, and after the war, it was accounted murder to have been in any way accessory to the death of any one man of the Parliamentary Forces, whether on the battle-field or in any other mode of warfare.

"The Act of Oblivion, passed by the English Parliament in 1660, covered all the acts of the Protestants of Ireland, but none ever passed for the Irish, though expressly promised. So that acts of war are to this day counted against the Irish as murders, while massacres by the English or Scotch are suppressed. Thus Newry surrendered to Marshal Conway and General Munro, the commanders of the joint English and Scottish armies, on 4th May, 1642, on quarter for life. Yet forty of the townsmen were put to death next day on the bridge, and amongst them 'two of the Pope's Pedlars' (so they called two seminary priests); and the Scotch soldiers, finding a crowd of Irish women and children hiding under the bridge, took some eighteen of the women and stript them naked, and threw them into the river and drowned them, shooting them in the water; and more had suffered so, but that Sir James Turner, in command under General Monro, galloped up and stopped his men. They were only copying, he says, the cruel example set them by the English under Conway's command. If it was intended to terrify the Irish, he adds, it failed; for in revenge they put some ministers, prisoners in their hands, to death." †

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* "Cromwellian Settlement," pp. 67, 68.

† Sir J. Turner, "Memoirs," reprint at Edinburgh, 1829.

Munro, who had not met Owen O'Neill at Benburb, seems to have faithfully copied the example set him by the English commanders. He made up the strongest army that had been seen in Ireland during the war; . . . advanced with it into Cavan, from whence he sent parties into Westmeath and Longford, which burnt the country, *and put to the sword* all the country people that they met." *

One more instance will conclude this preliminary narrative. Sir Henry Tichborne was governor of Drogheda for the Parliament (or rather for the King nominally). He was a brave and skilful officer; but his soul, cast in the fiery fanaticism of the party, was as pitiless as that of Cromwell himself. During the fatal hesitations and delays which marked the movements of the Confederates in the first stage of the insurrection, he employed or amused himself in desolating the country around Drogheda, and kept his wife constantly edified by a minute account of his doings. "Finding that they (the rebels) did not put themselves in arms," he writes, "and would no more now than formerly forsake their strength, to draw into equality of ground, notwithstanding their advantage of numbers, I concluded they were in another sort to be dealt with; and from thenceforth, for the most part, I fell every other morning into their quarters, and continued these visitations for several weeks together, *with the slaughter of every man of them,* especially the new plantation in the county of Monaghan, and at the taking of Harry O'Neale's house, in the Fews; insomuch that by this course and the like acted by the garrison at Drogheda, *there was neither man nor beast to be found in sixteen miles,* between the towns of Drogheda and Dundalk, . . . nearer than Carrick Mac-Cross, a strong pile, twelve miles distant." †

Thus for twelve miles on one side of Drogheda and sixteen miles on the other,—a circle of twenty-eight miles in diameter,—the slaughter and destruction were so complete, that neither man nor beast was left! And this apostle of English civilization, with his hands reeking with the blood of men, women, and children massacred in their homes, day after day, would sit down to write to his wife in England a detailed account of these fiendish performances, as of some glorious exploits the recital of which might fire his sons' souls to a noble emulation. . . . .

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* Carte, "Life of Ormond," ii., p. 2.

† "Lettre of Sir H. Tichbourne on the Siege of Fredagh," in Appendix to Temple's Hist., p. 186. Dublin, 1724.

Tichborne's account of his taking of Dundalk, in the same letter to his wife, throws further light on the murderous spirit displayed by the English officers and soldiery. After driving out the insurgents under Phelim O'Neill, he drew up his troops in the market-place, "caused the quarter-masters to divide the town into quarters, proportionable to the companies of horse and foot; and what booty was in any quarter (he says), that I left to the officers and soldiers that were quartered in it, by a proportionable dividend amongst them, whereby the confusion and contention about pillaging was taken away, and I had the soldiers in readiness to answer the rebels' motion and attempts, who rumored great words, and still swarmed very thick in those parts. *The number of the slain I looked not after, but there was little mercy shown in those times.*" *

Another writer supplies us with a detail which finishes off the picture of desolation and horror within this circle. "By the death of so many men about us"—says Bernard the Protestant Dean of Ardagh—"having their houses and all their provision either burnt or drawn hither, the dogs only surviving, are found very usually (like that judgment of Jezebel for the murder of Naboth) feeding upon their masters; which taste of man's flesh, made it very dangerous for the passengers in the roads who have been often set upon by those mastiffs, till we were as careful to kill them also." †

On reading the comments of these Reverend Ministers of a Gospel of Peace and Brotherly Love, one would be inclined to believe that all the suffering, the oppression, the victims of whole centuries of wrong, were on the side of Sir Henry Tichborne and Sir Charles Coote,—so grim is the satisfaction with which this Dean of Ardagh contemplated that wasted country covered with smoking ruins, unburied corpses, and the dogs preying first on the dead bodies of their masters, and then attacking, in their rabid hunger, the living who ventured through that hell upon earth. "We were as careful to kill them also"! They had "for several weeks together" made daily battues, hunting down and slaughtering every human creature found, and now their care must be to hunt down and kill the dogs who had fed and grown mad on the flesh of the slain. And then to quote the judgment of Jezebel!

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* "Lettre of Sir H. Tichbourne," &c., in App. to Temple's Hist., p. 186.

† Nicholas Bernard, "Whole Proceedings of Siege of Drogheda" (Dublin, 1736), p. 105.

The spirit which stirred up men,—two Christian nations, the English and Scottish,—to wage a war of UTTER EXTERMINATION against a neighboring people, and that under the motive of advancing the cause of pure religion,—has become incarnate in Oliver Cromwell. The public opinion which had been growing, growing throughout England, and inflaming all men's minds and hearts against the "Irish Enemy," the "Papist Irish,"—was fitly and elegantly expressed in the celebrated pamphlet of "The Simple Cobler of Aggawam, in America." This was published in 1647. It is headed "A WORD OF IRELAND: Not of the Nation universally, nor of any man in it, that hath so much as one haire of Christianity or Humanity growing on his head or in his beard,—but only of the truculent Cut-throats (i. e., the Irish Papists), and such as shall take up arms in their defence."

The following passage contains the purpose of the writer:

"I beg upon my hands and knees that the Expedition against them may be undertaken while the hearts and hands of our soldiers are hot. . . . Happy is he that shall reward them as they have served us: *and cursed be he that shall do that work of the Lord negligently!* Cursed be he that holdeth back his sword from blood!" *

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* London, Printed by J. D. & R. I. for Stephen Bowtell, at the sign of the Bible, in Pope's-Head Alley, 1647.

This work, like some of the Records of 1793 we have seen in French Municipalities, seems to have been written in blood, in the warm life-blood of some of the hated Papists butchered with such impunity in 1647 as well as the preceding years. There was then in England, as in France in 1793, a fearful epidemic of moral intoxication. The morbid fear and hatred of Prelacy and Popery, mingled with the national detestation of the Irish, had inspired a thirst for blood. In the masses, fanaticized and maddened by the incessant declamations of the Roundhead preachers, there was the firm conviction that it was *the work of God* to exterminate every man, woman, and child born on Irish soil of Catholic parents.

What was a fanatical belief in the ignorant masses, was used as a mighty force, ready at hand, by the clever and hypocritical leaders, to further their own darling scheme—the Replantation of Ireland.

"They preach, they fast, they pray, they have nothing more frequent than the sentences of Sacred Scripture, the name of God and of Christ in their mouths; you shall scarce speak to Cromwell about anything, but he will lay his hand on his breast, elevate his eyes, and call God to record; he will weep, howl, and repent, even while he doth smite you under the left rib."

So was he painted in London in 1649 by some of his own followers.* As he was leaving the English shore, "There was much seeking of God by prayer for a blessing upon them, and the country people prayed heartily for a fair wind for them." Cromwell's Chaplain, Hugh Peters, was in command of the twenty-three ships that formed the rear division of the fleet. He was in thorough sympathy with his master; and, minister of the Gospel as he was, never once held back that master's sword from the slaughter of the unarmed and defenceless, as well as of the enemy who surrendered.

The heart of the nation went with Cromwell to the Irish shore.

Immediately after his arrival in Dublin he issued a proclamation against "profane swearing, cursing, and drunkenness." The next day, the 24th of August, he issued another proclamation strictly forbidding his officers and soldiers from exercising cruelty toward the country-folk, as well as robbing, pillage, &c. All the farmers are invited to bring their provisions to the army, where they shall have the benefit of a free market, and be paid in ready money.

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* "The Hunting of the Foxes . . . directed to all the Free Commons in England, by five small beadles, late of the Armie." London, 1649.

It was a good piece of strategy; for it secured him ample supplies before entering on his first campaign. He showed himself a true Roundhead, however, during his brief stay in Dublin, permitting his chaplain and officers to appear in the Dublin pulpits in their "buff coats"; and outraged the feelings of the Churchmen by making of St. Patrick's Cathedral a stable for his troopers' horses.

The Drogheda Tragedy.

He began his march to Drogheda on Sept. 1st. The garrison was composed of 2,541 men, infantry and cavalry, nearly all of whom were Irish. They were but poorly supplied with ammunition and provisions, and were in no way to withstand successfully Cromwell's 15,000 chosen men, admirably equipped and well provided with everything. On Tuesday, Sept. 10th, Drogheda was taken by storm. The tragedy is briefly told by Carte :

"The assault was given, and his (Cromwell's) men twice repulsed; but in the third attack, Colonel Wall being unhappily killed at the head of his regiment, his men were so dismayed thereby, as to listen to the enemy offering them quarter; admitting them upon these terms, and thereby betraying themselves and their fellow-soldiers to the slaughter. All the officers and soldiers of Cromwell's army promised quarter to such as would lay down their arms, and performed it as long as any place held out, which encouraged others to yield. But when they had once all in their power, and feared no hurt that could be done them, Cromwell, being told by Colonel Jones that he had now all the flower of the Irish army in his hands, gave orders that no quarter should be given; so that his soldiers were forced, many of them against their will, to kill their prisoners. The brave governor, Sir Arthur Aston, Sir Edmund Verney, the Colonels . . . . were killed in cold blood." *

Some four officers escaped by a sort of miracle. "Except these and some few others who during the assault escaped at the other side of the town, and others, who, mingling with the rebels as their own men, disguised themselves so as not to be discovered,—there was not an officer, soldier, or religious person belonging to that garrison left alive." †

An English officer in Cromwell's victorious army, Thomas à Wood, brother to Anthony, historian of Oxford, has left a description of the massacre, so far as he was an eye-witness and actor.

"He returned,"—says Anthony,—"from Ireland to Oxford for a time to take up the arrears of his studentship at Christ Church. It was the winter after the siege. At which time, being often with his mother and brethren, he would tell them of the terrible assaulting and storming of Drogheda, wherein he himself had been engaged. He told them that three thousand at least, beside some women and children, were, after the assailants had taken part (of the town), and afterwards all the town, put to the sword, on the 11th and 12th of September, 1649. At which time Sir Arthur Aston, the governor, had his brains beat out, and his body hacked to pieces. He told them that when the soldiers were to make their way up to the lofts and galleries in the church, and up to the tower where the enemy had fled, each of the assailants would take up a child, and use it as a buckler of defence when they ascended the steps, to keep themselves from being shot or brained. After they had killed all in the church, they went into the vaults underneath, where all the flower and choicest of the women and ladies had hid themselves. One of these, a most handsome virgin, arrayed in costly and gorgeous apparel, kneeled down to Thomas à Wood, with tears and prayers, to save her life: and being struck with a profound pity, he took her under his arm, and went with her out of the church, intending to put her over

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* Carte, "Life of Ormonde," ii. 84.

† P. W. Denis Murphy, "Cromwell in Ireland," p. 103.

the works to shift for herself. But a soldier, perceiving his intentions, ran his sword through her body. Whereupon à Wood, seeing her gasping, took away her money and jewels, and flung her down over the works."

This scene was enacted in the church of St. Peter's.

"It is remarkable," says Cromwell, "that these people, at the first, set up the Mass in some places of the town that had been monasteries, and afterwards grew so insolent, that the last Lord's Day before the storm the Protestants were thrust out of the great church called St. Peter's, and they had public Mass there, and in this very place near 1,000 of them were put to the sword, fleeing thither for safety."

"Sir,—It has pleased God to bless our endeavors at Drogheda. . . . I believe we put to the sword the whole number of defendants. I do not think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives: those that did are in safe custody, *for the Barbadoes*. . . . This hath been a marvellous great mercy. . . . I do not believe, neither do I hear, that any officer escaped with his life, save only one lieutenant. The enemy were filled upon this with much terror: and truly I believe this bitterness will save much effusion of blood, through the goodness of God.

"I wish that all honest hearts may give the glory of this to God alone, to whom indeed the praise of this mercy belongs, for instruments they were very inconsiderable the work throughout."*

Thus spoke the Master; now for the Chaplain, Peters:

"The truth is, Drogheda is taken, 3,552 of the enemy slain, and sixty-four of ours, Colonel Castle and Colonel Symonds of note. Aston, the governor, killed—none spared. We have also Trim and Dundalk, and are marching to Kilkenny. I came now from giving thanks in the great church (Christ Church, Dublin)."

The false-hearted Ormonde to his King, Charles II.:

"It is not to be imagined the terror that these successes and the power of the rebels (i.e., the Parliamentarians under Cromwell) have struck into the people. They are so stupefied, that it is with great difficulty I can persuade them to act anything like men towards their own."[*]

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* Whitelock, "Memorials of English Affairs," p. 428.

"The people" of whom Ormonde writes are, not the Irish under Owen Roe O'Neill, but the English of the Pale, whom this prince of intriguers had succeeded in detaching from Hugh O'Reilly, Archbishop of Armagh, and the Nuncio, Rinuccini. When union had been strength and salvation, Ormonde had effected division. And this is the man who neglected to send timely succors to Drogheda, while he had under his command 3,000 unemployed troops.

Ormonde, seeing how little he could rely upon the Gentlemen of the Pale and their followers, had addressed himself to Owen O'Neill, and this great man, mindful only of his country's need and of the absolute urgency of uniting against the most terrible foe Ireland had yet beheld, hastened to take steps for joining his forces to Ormonde's. But while these negotiations were still in progress, poison, which had so often rid English generals of their most formidable Irish adversaries, was once more employed, and successfully, against the Ulster Chieftain.

He felt the first effects of the poison in the middle of August. He battled with it a long time, but in vain. Then he followed his army on its march southwards, borne in a litter. Finding his end near, he desired to be taken to Cloughouter, the residence of Maelmora O'Reilly, his brother-in-law, where Archbishop Hugh consoled him in his last moments.

"Many of his clansmen did not believe that he could die at a time when he was so much needed, 'some deeming that God in His clemency would not deal so strait with this poor nation as to bereave them of this their only champion; but rather, the world being unworthy of so good a master-piece, lulled him to sleep and snatched him away to some secret corner of the world, as another Elias, to keep him there for future better purposes.'"[†]

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[*] Carte, "Collection of Papers," vol. ii., p. 398.

[†] "Aphorismical Discovery of Faction," vol. ii., p. 63.

Cromwell now had no enemy in Ireland he need fear either on the battle-field, or behind the walls of a fortress.

The Tragedy of Wexford.

The Parliamentary Lord Lieutenant was too experienced and too good a soldier to neglect the opportunity which the terrible fate of the Drogheda Garrison had created for him. Dundalk and Trim had surrendered without striking a blow. The death of Owen O'Neill left no adversary in the North worthy of a single week's campaign. He marched southward, therefore; and on the 29th September, the Parliamentary fleet appeared off the harbor of Wexford, Cromwell with his army encamping before its walls on October 1st.

The Wexford people, unprepared as they were to resist this double attack by sea and land, declined the help sent them by Ormonde. Had he not surrendered Dublin to the Parliament? Had he not been the bane of the Irish cause throughout? So these stout-hearted burgesses of Wexford chose to die bravely, trusting to God and their own resolute spirit. Cromwell had traitors within the walls, who kept him fully advised of the desperate plight to which the citizens were reduced. To color his determination to deal with Wexford as he had dealt with Drogheda he amused the Commander, Synnott, with false hopes of a fair capitulation, meanwhile pressing the attack on every side. Ormonde found means of throwing several detachments into the place. To the propositions of the Commander, Cromwell, on October 11th, offered his ultimatum: To the soldiers, quarter and liberty; to the officers, quarter, but not liberty; to the citizens, freedom from pillage, with *one hour* to deliberate.

They refused.

"While I was preparing the answer to the propositions," says Cromwell, "studying to preserve the town from plunder, that it might be of more use to you and your army, the Captain, who was one of the Commissioners, being fairly treated, yielded up the Castle unto us."

The traitor was Captain James Stafford. With this infamous wretch and some others within the town who resembled him, Cromwell had so cleverly carried on his correspondence, that he viewed with grim satisfaction the detachments of foot and horse sent to the succor of the besieged. They were all prey that fell into his net, and destined to certain destruction.

No sooner was Cromwell master of the Castle, which dominated the walls of the place, than the gates were thrown open and the whole of the besieging army poured in. The townsfolk in consternation abandoned the fortifications and fled into the interior, while their enemies scaled the walls. In vain such as had not lost their head among the former placed chains across the street to stop the advance of cavalry. These were obstacles soon overcome, and only irritated the fell spirit of the assailants. The citizens abandoning their houses crowded together in the market-place, whither their defenders were soon driven after them.

Let Cromwell himself tell the rest.

"When they were come into the market-place, making a stiff resistance, our forces broke them, and then put all to the sword that came in their way. Two boatfuls of the enemy, attempting to escape, being overprest with numbers, sank, whereby were drowned near three hundred of them. I believe, in all, not less than two thousand; and I believe not twenty of yours from first to last of the siege. And indeed it hath, not without cause, been deeply set upon our hearts, that we intending better to this place than so great a ruin, hoping the town might be of more use to you and your army,—yet God would not have it so; but by an unexpected providence, in his righteous justice, brought a just judgment upon them to become a prey to the soldier."

He then quotes, as a justification for his butchery of the defenceless multitude, two instances of cruelty practised by the Wexford Catholics upon Protestants. His "as some say," only indicates all too plainly that he was glad to seize upon any of the dreadful stories set afloat by such men as Sir John Temple and Borlase, for the express purpose of inflaming the popular passions against the Irish Catholics.

The cruelties could not have been committed in the first months of the insurrection; for it did not reach Munster till the middle or the end of December; and no such cruelty is charged upon the Wexford people at that time by any known author. After the Synods of Kells and Kilkenny, and the strict injunctions of both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, the commission of such cruelties is highly improbable.

Who will believe Cromwell, calumniating his hecatombs of innocent victims, while his hands are still dripping with their blood?

"The town is now in your power (he continues, addressing the Parliament), that of the former inhabitants *I believe scarce one in twenty* can challenge any property in their houses. Most of them are run away, and many of them killed in this service. And it were to be wished that an honest people would come and plant here. . . .

"Thus it hath pleased God to give into your hands this mercy."*

From Dr. Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns, the faithful shepherd of this stricken flock, we have the following authentic account:

"On that fatal day, Oct. 11th, 1649, I lost every thing I had. Wexford, my native town, then abounding in merchandise, ships, and wealth, was taken at the sword's point by that plague of England, Cromwell, and sacked by an infuriated soldiery. Before God's altar fell sacred victims, holy priests of the Lord. Of those who were seized outside the church, some were scourged, some thrown into chains and imprisoned, while others were hanged or put to death by cruel tortures. The blood of the noblest of our citizens was shed so that it inundated the streets. There was hardly a house that was not defiled with carnage and filled with wailing. . . . . Never since that day have I seen my native city, my flock, the land of my birth, or my kindred. I am become the most unhappy of men. After the destruction of the city I lived for five months in the woods, every moment sought after that I might be put to death. . . . .

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* *Domestic State Papers* (1649–50), p. 366.

On one occasion I did not taste food for five entire days. I slept under the open sky, without shelter or covering."*

In another letter, Dr. French writes: ". . . The rumor of the direful massacre reached me whilst I was ill in a neighboring town, suffering from a burning fever. I cried, and mourned, and wept bitter tears; and turning to Heaven, cried out in the words of Jeremias, while all who were present shared in my grief. . . . From that time, . . . I sought refuge in the wilderness. . . . In the woods and groves I passed more than five months, that thus I might administer some consolation to the few survivors of my flock. . . . But neither woods nor caverns could afford me a lasting refuge. For the heretical Governor of Wexford, George Cooke, well known for his barbarity, with troops of cavalry and foot soldiers, pursued me to death everywhere, searching mountain tops and deepest recesses. He burned the huts and houses near the wood in which I had offered the Holy Sacrifice. . . . But God protected me in the midst of all these perils, and delivered me from this blood-thirsty man."

While the garrison and the unarmed citizens were falling beneath the swords of the fanatical soldiery, some three hundred women flocked in terror around the great Cross in the Public Square. This only secured and hastened their destruction. The Roundheads took the kneeling throng for a crowd of idolaters, worshipping an image of stone, and slaughtered them without mercy.

> He found them there,—the young, the old, the maiden and the wife;
> Their guardians brave in death were cold, who dared for them the strife.
> They prayed for mercy—God on high! before Thy Cross they prayed,
> And ruthless Cromwell bade them die to glut the Saxon blade.
> Three hundred fell—the stifled prayer was quenched in women's blood;
> Nor youth nor age could move to spare from slaughter's crimson flood.
> But nations keep a stern account of deeds that tyrants do!
> And guiltless blood to Heaven will mount, and Heaven avenge it too! †

Lingard, who relates this terrible slaughter, also informs us that after the battle of Naseby, one hundred women, some of them ladies of rank, were slain without pity, simply because they were Irish

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* "Cromwell in Ireland," pp. 162, 163.

† One of the Poet Barry's gems.

Catholics. But such was the spirit inculcated by the Covenanters, and fostered by the innumerable publications typified in the appeal to bloodshed of the "Simple Cobbler of Aggawam."

We pass over the other successes of Cromwell and his lieutenants in Ireland: the revolt of the Munster Garrisons; the heroic defence of Waterford, and the still more heroic defence of Clonmell, where the name of Hugh O'Neill shone for the last time with such transcendent lustre; the treason of the townsmen of Kilkenny, and the bravery of its garrison; and all the unavailing devotion of its Celtic people, weakened by their fatal alliance with Ormonde and his Royalists.

Then loomed up the bands of heroic defenders of a country given over to destruction, flocking to the sea-shore and seeking to pass to the Continent to serve some Catholic King; and those other bands of strong men and women, of young maidens, of boys and girls, hunted down, kidnapped, carried on board ship, and sold into servitude in Barbadoes, the West Indies, the New England settlements, Virginia, and the Carolinas.

Meanwhile slaughter and desolation reigned throughout the land.

"It was confidently averred that Sir John Clotworthy, who well knew the designs of the faction that governed in the House of Commons of England, had declared there in a speech, 'that *the conversion of the Papists in Ireland was only to be effected by the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other;* and Mr. Pym gave out that he would not leave a priest in Ireland. To the like effect Sir William Parsons, out of a strange weakness or a detestable policy, positively asserted before many witnesses at a public entertainment in Dublin, that *within a twelvemonth no Catholic should be seen in Ireland.*" *

How this Scheme was Carried Out.

Hear the Protestant author of the "Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland":

"It may seem strange to hear counted as military weapons issued from the store at Waterford, among swords, pikes, powder, shot, bandaleers and match, 'eighteen dozen of scythes with handles and rings, forty reape hooks, and whetstones and rubstones proportional'; but with these the soldiers cut down the growing crop, in order to starve the Irish into submission.

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* Carte, "Life of Ormonde," vol. i., 235.

"Not less strange is it to hear of the Bible being served out of store, with their other ammunition, to the army. Yet we find Bibles issued on 3d August, 1652, by the Commissary of Stores to the several companies of foot and troops of horse within the precinct of Dublin, according to muster, one Bible to every file; and on the 17th of the same month, one hundred Bibles for the use of the forces within the precinct of Galway, for the propagation of the Gospel; and the several Commissaries of Musters were to see the Bibles regularly mustered and accounted for by the officer commanding each troop and company. Thus realizing literally Sir John Clotworthy's declaration, made a few years before, that religion must be propagated in Ireland with the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other. For

> Here, in the saddle of one steed
> The Saracen and Christian rid;
> Was free of every spiritual order
> To preach and fight, and pray and murder.

And truly they had no bloodier instrument than the Bible in all their arsenal of war." *

One little extract from a letter of the too-famous Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, written August 25th, 1642, will enable us to form a conception of the extent to which the Exterminators, from the first months of the Insurrection, carried out their well laid scheme in divers parts of the Kingdom. Richard Boyle, the life-long associate of such men as the Lords Justices Parsons and Borlase, and the very head in Ireland of the Puritans or Covenanters, brought up his sons, the Lords Broghill and Kynalmeaky, in the strictest principles of Puritanism. We have seen, in the preceding chapter, with what zeal both father and sons pursued the Catholic nobility and gentry of

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* "Cromwellian Settlement," pp. 77, 78.

Munster, and how cleverly they managed to have juries of their own packing find true bills of attainder against some 1,400 or 1,500 proprietors at a time. Of course these men powerfully aided The Lord President St. Leger in driving the Catholics of the South into open insurrection.

Well, ten months after the insurrection began, Lord Cork thus wrote: "I do affirm, and will make good this undeniable truth, that my two sons, Kynalmeaky and Broghill, with those forces that I have raised and satisfied, and they command, have been the destruction of above three thousand rebels, since the beginning of the insurrection." *

The Earl of Barrymore, whose name we mentioned in connection with the exploits of this family of Boyles, is also brought in by the same correspondence for a share in the work of slaughter worthy of his share in the work of confiscation: this Earl was poor and the Boyles were helping him to acquire estates and wealth by the same means they had acquired and were increasing theirs. "The Earl of Barrymore hath nothing but what he fighteth with the rebels for, and getteth by his sword; he having lately hanged *forty-three* notable rebels for a breakfast." †

Borlase, in his history of the "Execrable Irish Rebellion," relates how Sir William Cole, with one regiment of 500 men, and one troop of horse, slew 2,147 swordsmen in various skirmishes and battles, and to have "starved and famished of the vulgar sort" no less than "7,000 persons," whose property they had previously plundered.

Inchiquin,—the representative of the O'Briens, but a bitter hater of all Catholics,—wasted with fire and sword the whole of Munster, "burning, plundering, and destroying the country, even to the gates of Limerick." In storming the Rock of Cashel, he massacred "twenty ecclesiastics," says Wright. The troops had entered the city without resistance, and feasted on the abundant fare they found. The next day, the 14th Sept., 1647, they prepared to storm the

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* "State Letters of the Earl of Orrery," vol. i., p. 15.

† *Ibid.*

Rock. They offered the Garrison liberty to march out with the honors of war; but the city was to be left to their discretion. This proposition could not be entertained. The Rock was assaulted and carried, and the defenders forced to take refuge in the Cathedral. No mercy was shown to soldier or civilian; to priests, women, or children. The sacred edifice was filled with corpses up to the altar steps and the altar itself. At the battle of Knocknenoss, where the brave Colkitto perished, "The left commanded by Mac Allisdrum (Colkitto), consisting of brave northern Irish, stood their ground; but were at last forced to yield to the conquerors, their commander giving up his sword to Colonel Purden. But Lord Inchiquin having, before the battle, ordered that no quarter should be given to the enemy, the brave Mac Allisdrum and most of his men were put to the sword in cold blood. . . . There were 4,000 Irish killed on the spot." *

Whitelock says of his exploits in Leinster: "Inchiquin commits great destruction, as far as he dares venture, about Dublin and Tredah, by burning and driving away of their cattle, hangs all he can meet with going to the Lord Lieutenant." †

Of Sir Charles Coote's massacres and desolations, we need say nothing more. He is reported as saying with his latest breath: "Blood! Blood! More blood!"

We end by Ireton, Cromwell's successor in Ireland.

He was, according to Heath,‡ "absolutely the best prayer-maker and preacher in the army, though Oliver came little behind him."

"Soon after Ireton had the command of the army, he was informed that a certain Barony had broken the articles in consideration of which they (i.e., its inhabitants) had been protected. He marched therefore against this Barony, and *gave immediate orders to his soldiers to kill man, woman, and child;* but before these orders were executed, Lord Broghill expostulated with him upon the cruelty of such proceedings. . . . He (Broghill) was humbly of opinion, that it would be more just, reasonable, and honorable, to order the soldiers to kill none but who were found in arms or made any opposition. With these words Ireton was at last, though hardly, persuaded to revoke his bloody commands." *

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* Smith, "Ancient and Present State of the County of Cork," ii., 162.

† "Memorials," &c.

‡ Heath, *Flagellum.*

The Cathedral of Cashel, which was the scene of the awful desecration by Inchiquin, on Sept. 14, 1647, was now doomed to witness a still more fearful massacre at the hands of Ireton. "Having brought together an army, he marched into the county of Tipperary, and hearing that many priests and gentry about Cashel had retired with their goods into the Church, he stormed it, and being entered, put three thousand of them to the sword, taking the priests even from under the altar." †

Ireton did his work heartily, thoroughly. The Bibles were served out diligently to each company of foot and troop of horse; and the Sword, in the language of the "Simple Cobbler of Aggawam" was made, all over the land, *stark drunk with Irish blood.* It had realized the fervent wish of the pious Cobbler, and made of Irish corpses of men, women, and children "heaps upon heaps, and their country a dwelling place for Dragons, an astonishment to the Nations."

The Desolation.

"On the 1st January, 1651–2, the Parliament (so the Commissioners report) had in Ireland an army of 30,000 men. But they had 350 garrisons and military posts to maintain, and 100 more to plant; while the Irish had an equal number of men, all of them, except those in their towns and garrisons in Connaught, in woods, bogs, and other fastnesses of the greatest advantage to them, and from which there was no dislodging them. . . . To place garrisons near their fastnesses, to lay waste the adjacent country, allowing none to inhabit there on pain of death, was the course taken to subdue the Irish.

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* Orrery, "State Letters," i. 32, 33.

† "Memoirs of Edward Ludlow," i. 106.

The consequence was that THE COUNTRY WAS REDUCED TO A HOWLING WILDERNESS.

"In his circuitous march from Limerick, in November, 1650,—a distance, he says, of one hundred and fifty Irish miles,—Ireton passed through a district of thirty miles together, with hardly a house or any living creature to be seen, only ruins and desolation in a plain and pleasant land.

"Three fourths of the stock of cattle were destroyed. In 1653, cattle had to be imported from Wales into Dublin; it required license to kill a lamb. Mrs. Alice Bulkeley, widow, on 17th March, 1652, 'in consideration of her ould age and weakness of body,' was licensed to kill and dress, notwithstanding the Declaration of the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland, so much lamb as should be necessary for her own use and eating, not exceeding three lambs for that whole year. Tillage had ceased; the English themselves were near starving. . . .

"It became important, therefore, to come to terms with the Irish. The Commissioners for Ireland reported that the natives were of opinion that the Parliament intended them no mercy." *

And they were to have no mercy.

Sir William Petty—the Surveyor-General—calmly tells us that since October, 1641, up to May, 1652, more than 500,000 natives of Ireland had perished.

Exile and Bondage.

On May 12, 1652, the Irish army in Leinster surrendered. The conditions on which they laid down their arms were successively adopted by the other Irish forces in Connaught and Ulster, so that in September of that year, the war for liberty was over. The Kilkenny articles stipulated that all who were not guilty of the first blood should be received into protection; and that all who should be unwilling to accept the future dispositions of Parliament in their regard, would be permitted to treat with the Government for means to migrate to foreign countries.

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* "The Cromwellian Settlement," p. 79.

Both the Government and the Adventurers and Planters were desirous of getting rid of every single Irishman, of those who had borne arms, particularly. The noblemen, and officers high in command in the late Confederate army, were allowed to establish recruiting centres all over the island, for the purpose of enlisting men for Continental armies. Between 1651 and 1654, 34,000 men left Ireland for ever to serve the Kings of France, Poland, Spain, and the Emperor of Germany.

The Parliamentary Records contain a Letter from Athlone, dated April 12, 1652, and informing the Government of the surrender of one of the few fragments of the Irish army left in the West. "The garrison of Roscommon Castle," it says, "yielded upon that which we adjudged moderate terms amongst us, which is, for the Government to transport a regiment for Spain, *where we could wish the whole nation*."*

This was, undoubtedly, the wish of all Protestants in the Three Kingdoms that not an Irish Papist should be left in Ireland. Whither outside of Ireland the Irish should go, their enemies cared not; they only yearned to be rid of the whole brood.

This clearing out of the Celts was, in the judgment of their adversaries, an indispensable condition for the settlement and replantation of the country.

But what was to be done with the vast multitudes of women and children, left behind by the dreadful wars, the wholesale massacres, the famine, and the plague, which had so wofully thinned the population during the last decade? And, besides these "widows, deserted wives, and destitute families, there were," says Mr. Prendergast, "plenty of other persons too, who, as their ancient properties had been confiscated, had no visible means of livelihood."

In the West Indies there was great need of laborers. "Just as the King of Spain sent over his agents to treat with the Government for the Irish swordsmen, the merchants of Bristol had agents with it treating for men, women, and girls, to be sent to the sugar plantations. . . . The Commissioners for Ireland gave them orders upon the governors of garrisons, to deliver to them prisoners of war; upon the keepers of gaols, for offenders in custody; upon masters of workhouses, for the destitute in their care; . . . and gave directions to all in authority to seize those who had no visible means of livelihood, and deliver them to these agents of the Bristol sugar-merchants, in execution of which latter direction Ireland must have exhibited scenes in every part like the slave-hunts in Africa. How many girls of gentle birth must have been caught and hurried to the private prisons of the men-catchers, none can tell.

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* "Several Proceedings in Parliament," p. 2146.

"We are told of one case. Daniel Connery, a gentleman of Clare, was sentenced, in Morison's presence, to banishment, in 1657, by Colonel Henry Ingoldsby, for harboring a priest. 'This gentleman had a wife and twelve children. His wife fell sick and died in poverty. Three of his daughters, beautiful girls, were transported to the West Indies, to an island called the Barbadoes; and there, if still alive (he says), they are miserable slaves.'* But at last the evil became too shocking and notorious, particularly when these dealers in Irish flesh began to seize the daughters and children of the English themselves, and to force them on board their slave-ships; then, indeed, the orders, at the end of four years, were revoked." †

All this happened under the Commonwealth,—when so much was said in Parliament, in the Pulpit, and published in the Press, about civil and religious liberty, and the rights of man; when the English nation professed to be striving at the establishment of pure Gospel Truth and Morality! De Bonald uttered, at the beginning of the present century, while England was applauding and seconding the efforts of Wilberforce to emancipate the Negro Slaves in the West

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* Morison's "Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica" (Innsbruck, 1659), p. 287.

† "Cromwellian Settlement," pp. 89, 90.

Indies, and while Parliament steadily rejected every proposal to emancipate the Catholics of Ireland: *Ils aiment les nègres pour ne pas aimer leurs frères.* Englishmen, even as the century is drawing to its close, might ask their conscience the question, If they are not more touched by the wrongs of the African Zulus or of the Hindoostanee races, than by the sufferings, at their door, of the Irish agricultural population, still condemned to be the slaves that Cromwell made them?

Up to March 4, 1655, they had shipped 6,400 Irish,—men and women, boys and girls.

In that same year Admiral Penn conquered Jamaica. Cromwell sent out as colonists 1,500 men of the English army in Ireland; and instructed the Commander of the army there to secure 1,000 young girls to be sent there also. Henry Cromwell, the Commander, suggested adding to the number from 1,500 to 2,000 boys of from twelve to fourteen years of age. "We could well spare them," writes Henry to Oliver, "and they might be of use to you; and who knows but it might be a means to make them Englishmen—I mean Christians?"*

What is more terrible than the irony of History, which unconsciously places on record such utterances as these? Under what a form was the divine beauty of Christianity offered to the youth of wretched Ireland by men whom the unanimous voice of succeeding generations has branded as Hypocrites? The traditions of Catholic Ireland, living undimmed in the retentive memory of her people, recall a far different type of ENGLISHMEN, that of the Dunstans and the Alfreds and the Bedes, together with the other Christian men and women of their day, who resorted in such numbers to hospitable Erin: the two nations then had but one heart and one soul, because knit together by the charities of one divine faith.

And so they depopulated Erin. The blood of Columba and Columbanus, and of all the host of learned and saintly men who had passed from the monastic homes of Ireland to Lindisfarne and the schools of England, north and south, and found everywhere the welcome of most dear brethren,—were accounted by the men of the New Gospel on a par with the savages hunted down and captured along the Niger and the Congo, and sent to slave away their lives in the sugar-plantations of the New World!

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* Thurloe's "State Papers," vol. iv., p. 40.

Such was the fruit Anglo-Norman civilization had borne in the Sister Islands from 1162 to 1653.

Documentary Evidence.

"Messrs. Sellick and Leader, Mr. Robert Yeomans, Mr. Joseph Lawrence, and others, all of Bristol, were active agents. As one instance out of many:—Captain John Vernon was employed by the Commissioners for Ireland into England, and contracted in their behalf with Mr. David Sellick and Mr. Leader under his hand, bearing date the 14th Sept., 1653, to supply them with 250 women of the Irish nation above twelve years, and under the age of forty-five; also 300 men above twelve years of age and under fifty, to be found in the country within twenty miles of Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale, Waterford, and Wexford, to transport them into New England. Messrs. Sellick and Leader appointed their shipping to repair to Kinsale; but Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill (afterwards Earl of Orrery), whose name, like that of Sir Charles Coote, seems ever the prelude of woe to the Irish, suggested that the required number of men and women might be had from among the wanderers and persons who had no means of getting their livelihood, in the county of Cork alone. Accordingly, on the 23d October, 1653, he was empowered to search for them and arrest them and to deliver them to Messrs. Sellick and Leader, who were to be at all the charge of conducting them to the water-side, and maintaining them from the time they received them; and no person, being once apprehended, was to be released but by special order in writing under the hand of Lord Broghill.

"Again, in January, 1654, the Governors of Carlow, Kilkenny, Clonmel, Wexford, Ross, and Waterford, had orders to arrest and deliver to Captain Thomas Morgan, Dudley North, and John John-son, English merchants,—all wanderers, men and women, and such other Irish within their precincts, as should not prove they had such settled course of industry, as yielded them a means of their own to maintain them; all such children as were in hospitals and work-houses; all prisoners—men and women—to be transported to the West Indies. The governors were to guard the prisoners to the ports of shipping; but the prisoners were to be provided for and maintained by the said contractors;—and none to be discharged except by order under the hand and seal of the governor ordering the arrest."*

It was agreed that the Adventurers who had advanced money and raised an army for the conquest of Ireland in 1642, and the officers and soldiers who had taken part in the war of subjugation, should have an equal right in the partition of lands. On Sept. 26, 1653, a proclamation of the Lord Deputy Fleetwood, and the Commissioners of Parliament, announced that the rebellion was subdued, and the war ended. To the army a moiety of nine principal counties was distributed, and the other moiety was given to the Adventurers. "A portion of lands in Wicklow was all that was reserved for those who had struggled on against the rebellion before the arrival of Cromwell, and had been neglected since. Connaught was reserved entirely, under certain qualifications, to the Irish, who were to be transported thither from the other parts of the country, and they were to confine themselves within the Shannon, so as not to interfere in any way with the new English settlers. They were to be kept in awe by a circle of strong English garrisons. The counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, and Cork, with all the lands of bishops, deans, and chapters, were reserved by Parliament to be afterward disposed of at their pleasure. Courts were established at Dublin and Athlone, to hear and adjudge claims which might interfere with the rights of the new proprietors, that by settling these, the latter might be relieved from the fear of future litigation.

"These courts had also to determine the qualifications of the Irish who were to be transplanted into Connaught, and the allotments of land to be given to them."*

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* "Cromwellian Plantation," pp. 90, 91.

The Transplantation.

On the 11th October, 1652, was published in Kilkenny the following Sovereign Decree:

"The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England having by one act lately passed (entitled an Act for the Settling of Ireland) declared that *it is not their intention to extirpate this whole nation,* but that mercy and pardon for life and estate be extended to all husbandmen, plowmen, laborers, artificers, and others of the inferior sort, in such manner as in and by the said Act is set forth; for the better execution of the said Act, and that timely notice may be given to all persons therein concerned, it is ordered that the Governor and Commissioners of Revenue, or any two or more of them, within every precinct in this nation, do cause the said Act of Parliament with this present declaration to be published and proclaimed in their respective precincts by beat of drum and sound of trumpet, on some market day, within ten days after the same shall come unto them."

It was the disinheriting and proscribing of a whole nation. All the Catholic nobility and most of the gentry, together with such of the Protestant aristocracy and higher clergy, who had been faithful to the King, were outlawed and banished. The inferior classes were despoiled of all right and title in the land of their forefathers. That the classes above enumerated were excepted from the decree of EXTIRPATION intended to apply, as far as practicable, to "the whole nation,"—was an act of dire necessity: Ireland must otherwise have remained uncultivated, and, besides, their uttermost efforts "to extirpate the whole nation" had failed, thanks to the indomitable spirit of "the Gael."

"There is an anecdote told by an English monk of the order of the Friars Minors, who must have dwelt, disguised probably (a not uncommon incident), as a soldier or servant, in the household of Colonel Ingoldsby, Governor of Limerick, that explains the reason why the common people were to be allowed to stay, and the gentry to transplant. He heard the question asked of a great Protestant statesman, . . . who gave three reasons for it:—First, he said, they are useful to the English as earth-tillers and herdsmen; secondly, deprived of their priests and gentry, and living among the English, it is hoped they will become Protestants; and, thirdly, the gentry without their aid must work for themselves and their families, and so in time turn into common peasants, or die, if they don't." *

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* Wright, "Hist. of Ireland," vol. ii., p. 113.

It was, therefore, a wholesale national confiscation. And the faint shadowings of mercy which seemed to attach to the exceptional clauses, were as unsubstantial as shadows, and disappeared as quickly in the working of the Act. Hatred, invincible hatred, toward the English settlers, was assigned, on the part of the proscribed Irish, as the reason for transplanting them to Connaught and confining them there, until they could be gradually extinguished, or merged in the surrounding mass of the Protestant English and Scotch. None were excepted but such as could prove a Constant Good Affection toward the Parliament and Commonwealth since the beginning of the Civil War. Loyalty to the King, affection toward his dynasty, sacrifices undergone in his service, even against the Kilkenny Confederates, was of no avail to save noble, gentleman, or soldier, from the decree of expatriation and expropriation. Besides, whosoever, among the farming classes and the tradesmen, had borne arms against the Parliament,—no matter what compulsion or necessity they might plead for so doing,—were to go to Connaught. To the middle space in that Province assigned to the Transplanters, they were ordered to go under pain of death before May 1st, 1654. The only exceptions were: Irish women married to Protestants before Dec. 2, 1650, and consenting to become Protestants; boys under fourteen, and girls under twelve, in the service of Protestants and to be brought up as

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* *Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica.*

such; and those who could prove their "constant good affection" to the Parliament in preference to the King.

And what was the condition of Connaught in the year of Transplantation, 1653–54?

We have the authority of Warner for the following statement, which may enable us to form a correct judgment on this point. "The same part," he says, "which Lord Inchiquin was playing in Munster, by burning, plundering, and destroying the country, even to the gates of Limerick, was acted by Sir Charles Coote in Connaught, with a design, as it was supposed, to relieve Bonratty; but he contented himself with wasting and burning the estates of Lord Clanrickarde."*

One would justly conclude that the object of the Parliament and its Counselors in Ireland, was to give the order for transplanting at the very time (Oct. 15, 1653) when all kinds of difficulties combined to render its execution morally and physically impossible; and thus to find in the non-compliance of the unhappy people, a pretext for falling on them and exterminating them.

They were engaged in the labor of gathering the harvest or preparing for putting in the winter-crop, when the order came upon them like a thunder-clap in a summer sky. They should be compelled to travel in the inclement season, to follow the few roads to the fords over the Shannon; and these roads had been rendered almost impassable by the frequent movements of the hostile armies for more than ten successive years.

But the near interests of the English Settlers themselves were involved in this sudden departure. The lands abandoned by the emigrants could not be tilled for the coming Spring,—and already every article of food in Ireland was sold at famine prices.

The Parliament Commissioners, in the sanctimonious slang then *de rigueur* in all official documents, ordained a day of fasting, "inviting the commanders and officers of the army to join them in lifting up prayers with strong crying and tears to Him to whom nothing is too hard, that His servants, whom He had called forth in this day to act in these great transactions, might be made faithful and carried on by His own outstretched arm against all opposition and difficulty, to do what was pleasing in His sight."

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* Warner, p. 371.

Had the politico-religious teaching so sedulously inculcated on two generations of Protestant men in Great Britain and Ireland, so warped their understanding, so perverted all natural feeling,—that this great and solemn violation of the most sacred rights of an entire nation, could be looked upon as "God's work," and His aid thus publicly implored toward performing it, without any regard to the claims of humanity, of pity for the suffering?

At any rate, the work was pushed forward with relentless rigor. The few cases of great hardship mitigated by the Commissioners, were confined to the nobility and gentry,—to those who strove to urge in their own favor their hostility to the Insurrection, their traditional hatred of the mere Irish. As to these "mere Irish" themselves,—the overwhelming mass of the victims of this gigantic and unparalleled Wrong, they complained not; for it was vain for them to complain. They gave up home and everything for the sake of Him in whom alone was their trust.

Those petitioning for delay, or relief, or alleviation in some form of their cruel fate, bore the names of 'Fitzgerald, Butler, Plunket, Barnwall, Cheever, Dillon, Cusack,'—the descendants of the men, who, in 1535, when Henry VIII. had put down Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, and cut off by the axe of the executioner every branch of the Fitzgerald tree in his power, were found petitioning the English tyrant to extirpate or transplant these "mere Irish." The children were bearing the sins of their parents even in the third and fourth generation.

The Order of October 15, enjoined on all fathers and heads of families to appear in Loughrea, before January 30, 1654, there to obtain from the Commissioners of Parliament the lands in Connaught to which they were entitled. Each head of a household gave in a full schedule, descriptive of the number of persons belonging to him or dependent on him, with their personal characteristics, &c. No European police office in modern times contained on its lists, or on the passports delivered by it, a more graphic or minute detail of the physiognomy, stature, of each person applying there for permission to travel. All these are still in existence, were examined by the Author of the "Cromwellian Settlement,"—and can still instruct the student of Irish history. . . . These details were necessary to the armies of officials and the long line of military garrisons enclosing Connaught along the Shannon and along the sea-coast. Any man or woman so described, appearing thereafter outside that wall of fire, could be shot down like a wild beast. And they were shot down.

It is,—shall we call it?—a curious, or rather a deeply-moving, study, to contemplate these pen-and-ink sketches of persons, this photographic gallery of such a large number of our people, the fellow-sufferers of the heroic Celts of 1654. The world was not worthy of them. The world looked on and permitted the perpetration of the foulest crime on record. The Christian world formed by the Church and which, before the Reformation, had been one great family, was now miserably broken up and divided. The Common Father of Christendom could no longer interfere, in the name of Christ, and with the spiritual weapons of his high office, to prevent one nation from exterminating or enslaving another. Unhappily, it was for their fidelity to him,—the Vicar of Christ, so long acknowledged as such by England herself,—that the Irish people were now undergoing far worse than Egyptian bondage and oppression.

Now,—be it well remembered,—this Act of the English Parliament confiscating, by the sole right of the strongest, the inheritance of a nation, is the sole source of the title by which Irish landlords hold their possessions,—the sole source and sanction of the relation which obtains between them and the tillers and tenants of the soil. It is a title wholly and essentially null in its origin and nature; and no length of possession can purge away the defect which vitiates it in its very origin.

We remark this here, to remind the reader, that this claim shall be fully discussed further on.

And what of the wretched emigrants in their new homes in Connaught? Let us listen to the recital of Mr. Prendergast,—who borrows every detail from the original documents in the Government records.

"They found the country a waste. In the summer of this year the famine was so sore that the natives had eaten up all the horses they could get, and were feeding upon one another, the living eating the dead. The county of Clare was totally ruined, and deserted of inhabitants. Out of nine baronies, comprising 1,300 ploughlands, not above forty ploughlands at the most, lying in the barony of Bunratty, were inhabited in the month of June, 1653, except some few persons living for safety in garrisons. Scarce a place to shelter in. The castles either sleighted by gunpowder, as dangerous to be left in the hands of the Irish; or occupied by the English soldiery, or by the ancient proprietors, who looked upon the transplanters as enemies liable to supplant them, and, therefore, encouraged their followers to give them rough reception. Besides this, the Loughrea Commissioners gave some of the earliest transplanters assignments in the barony of Burren, in the county of Clare, one of the barrenest, where it was commonly said there was not wood enough to hang a man, water enough to drown him, or earth enough to bury him. They were therefore scared, like the first beasts too suddenly driven at a slaughter yard, communicating their terrors to the herd behind. The English officers, too, were not assisting to put them in possession of their assignments. Ferrymen and toll-keepers were exacting tolls, contrary to the orders of the Government."

"The Herd," however, covering as it did three entire provinces, could not be made to move. Like wild animals crowding into a defile, where the leaders become so tightly wedged together, that they can neither move forward nor retreat, so great is the pressure from behind, so was it with the panic-stricken population of the Transplantable in both cities and country places. The heads and fathers of families who had gone before to build cabins and prepare for the coming of their households, became in very deed panic-stricken at the appalling prospect before them. And from them the panic spread to the expectant and despairing multitudes behind.

In vain, discouraged themselves at the physical impossibility of forcing a whole people to move on to their own destruction, or of executing punishment on the delaying and recalcitrant,—the Commissioners obtained that certain limitations should be put to the qualities that marked out a man or woman as "transplantable." They limited them, at length, to "Proprietors of lands and their families, and to Persons that had contrived Rebellion, or abetted it, or had actually borne arms." And then, there were the sick, the aged, the blind, the impotent. To those granted delays,—and only delays, not exemption from transplantation,—were next added persons who had aided the English armies, who had discovered rebels, who had sheltered English and Protestants from being murdered, and those giving good proof of their renouncing 'the Popish Superstition and the Bishop of Rome,' or should show a sincere desire of being instructed "in the true and saving knowledge of Christ, and His Gospels, and Truths."

It was offering a most tempting bribe to what sincere believers must deem APOSTASY.

But behind this "panic-stricken Herd" were the regiments of English soldiers, to whom arrears of pay were due, and who, in their *land-hunger*, were impatient to enter into possession of the property of the transplanted; and behind the soldiers in arms, driving the herd at the point of the lance, and their veteran comrades clamoring loudly for a settlement, were the Adventurers in England, and the whole English nation joining in the clamor either because they were impelled by that same "land-hunger," or because they were animated by a fierce spirit of race-hatred toward the Irish and of hostility to their religion.

We quote from Mr. Prendergast's teeming pages:

"DUBLIN, *May* 31, 1654.

"We are somewhat in a confused posture yet with our transplantation: many are gone, but many others play 'loth to depart.' And many are dispensed with: as, particularly, one whole town, Cashel, towards which we had no great obligation upon us. But the Lord, who is a jealous God, and more knowing of, as well as jealous against, their iniquity than we are, by a fire on the 13th instant hath burnt down the whole town in little more than a quarter of an hour, except some few houses that the English lived in. . . .

"The persons that got their dispensations from the transplantation, died the day before the fire, of the plague, and none else long before nor since dead of the disease there."

Wonderful, and edifying—very. But, a superficial reader might be induced to guess that there were some earthly agencies busy in the burning of the houses as well as the death of the unfortunate "dispensed."

"DUBLIN, *July* 12, 1654.

"The transplanting work moves on but slowly. . . . The floodgates being shut from transporting (to Spain), and one vent being stopped from sending away the soldiery, part of them Irish, they begin to break out into Torying,* and the waters begin to rise again upon us."

"DUBLIN, *August* 24, 1654.

"The work of transplanting is at a stand. The Tories flie out and increase. It is the nature of this people to be rebellious; and they have been so much the more disposed to it, having been highly exasperated by the transplanting work. This makes many turn Tories who give no quarter, none being given to them."

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* Father Denis Murphy S. J., in "Cromwell in Ireland," gives this explanation of the word TORY, as applied here. "During the rebellion of 1641 the name of Tories was given to such persons as at first preferred to remain neutral, but who ultimately—perhaps urged by their loss of property and consequent distress—took up arms with a view of reprisal or revenge on those by whom they had been reduced to absolute ruin. English and Irish, Protestant and Catholic, Republican and Royalist, were alike their common enemies; and, being joined by men of desperate fortunes, they united themselves into bodies and became formidable gangs of freebooters, who harassed the regular troops of all parties without distinction. . . . It was applied by the opponents of Charles I. to his party, under the idea that they favored the Irish rebels. By an easy transition, it became the distinctive appellation of the party who wished for the widest extension of the royal prerogative. Some derive it from *Tar, a Righ*, 'Come, O King,' a cry used by the Irish adherents of Charles I. Titus Oates used to call any one who opposed him a Tory."

"DUBLIN, *December* 21, 1654.

"The transplantation is now far advanced, the men being gone. . . . Their wives and children and dependants have been and are packing away after them apace, and all are to be gone by the 1st of March next."

On Feb. 27, 1655, appeared a proclamation of the Lord Deputy and Council, allowing the wives and families of Transplanters to obtain licenses to remain until May 1st, provided their husbands were in Connaught by March 1. But a certificate was to be sent back from the Commissioners at Loughrea attesting that the husbands were gone to prepare for their families. Otherwise, they and their families were to be "out of protection," that is, treated as enemies in a state of war.

Here is one cry of joy from the "land-hungry":

"ATHY, *March* 4, 1654–5.

". . . The time prescribed for the transplantation of the Irish proprietors, and those that have been in arms and abettors of the rebellion, being near at hand, the officers are resolved to fill the gaols and to seize them: by which this bloody people will know that they (the officers) *are not degenerated from English principles;* though I presume we shall be very tender of hanging any but leading men. Yet we shall make no scruple of sending them to the West Indies where they will serve for planters, and help to plant the plantation. . . ."

Urged on by the tyrannical public opinion in both countries, the Government at once took the most effective measures. They seized and sold the crops of the laggard Transplanters, applying the money to relieve the distressed in Connaught. They ordered the arrest and imprisonment of all who had not departed on the day assigned. Troopers and soldiers in every part of the Kingdom issued from their garrisons and seized high and low, dragging them from their beds in the dead of night, and driving them in great herds before them to the nearest gaols. But there were not gaols enough, nor room enough in the gaols. They were now "out of protection," that is, outlawed and subject to military executions. Courts martial were organized, "some were put to death; others sold as slaves into America, others detained in prison till they were not able to put bread into their mouths; others, as partakers of the greatest favor that could be expected, only released on condition of transplanting into Connaught." *

So, under whatever thin veil of moderation or false semblance of justice the Government tried to conceal their real intent, the work of extermination went on,—in Connaught and outside of Connaught.

What was to be done with the imprisoned masses, for whom the limited slave-markets in America offered no outlet, and with the far greater mass of destitute and homeless, now driven from their lands and dwellings by the new proprietors?

It is fearful to write of these things, fearful to think of them. Yet we must conclude our narrative.

To the anxious enquiries of officials in the various Precincts, the Government laid down as a rule, that in granting the favor of a further delay, or in exempting from the penalties of outlawry incurred by unauthorized delay to transplant, a distinction should be made in the two classes of *Proprietors* and *Swordmen*. Under the former class (of course, *they* were to be transplanted by all means, for their lands or houses were WANTED), were to be ranked all mortgageors and mortgagees, and their eldest sons; the brothers, sons, or next heirs of such, and all who could have any possible claim to inherit from them; lessees for seven years and their children; widows entitled to their jointure; the wives and children of swordmen gone to Spain; and the orphans of transplantable persons. . . .

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* See *Carte Papers*, vol. vii., p. 6, in the Bodleian Library.

In one word every category of persons who had any actual or prospective right to the soil of Ireland, to house, home, or tenement on that soil, was,—by this legislation,—outlawed, disfranchised, and placed outside the pale of humanity.

From out the overcrowded prisons,—crowded often with the high born and the once opulent, it was decreed that "They might also set at liberty and dispense for six months, those who, though not able to prove *constant good affection,* could be held Good Affection men, not however above forty in number from each district prison."

So,—for the Irish, the Irish Catholic nation, who could claim no Good Affection, and who gloried in not claiming it,—there was no license, no delay, no relief from misery save in death, or in the heroic resolve to suffer the worst, and brave every danger, while remaining true to Erin and to God. . . . I shall not pity them; but bless them and worship their memory.

But here comes in the New Gospel.

"And all such Swordmen and Proprietors as by two Justices of the Peace were certified to have really renounced popery, and for six months past had constantly resorted to Protestant worship, were, on giving security to transplant by the 12th of April following, to be set at liberty. Protestantism now appeared so amiable that conversions spread."

So speaks from his honest heart and indignant spirit this brave Protestant.

The Lord Deputy and Council did not give implicit belief to the professions of the new converts. Proper persons of the sterling Puritan stamp were sent to the localities where the neophytes abounded. When insincerity was apparent,—as in the perverts of Cape Clear Island and Connemara in 1647–48,—"the Irish so offending were to be made an example of by requiring them to transplant forthwith into Connaught."

Death preferred to Transplantation.

"Dublin, *July* 27, 1655.

"The business of transplanting is not yet finished. The Irish chuse death rather than remove from their wonted habitations. But the State is resolved to see it done."

In the month of March preceding, however, the impatient adventurers and the wrathful anti-Popery public of London were rejoiced to learn that "Daniel Fitzpatrick and another in Ireland," had been "condemned (to death) by the Commissioners in Kilkenny for refusing to transport themselves into Connaught, which makes the rest to hasten."

In the same month, the Court Martial sitting in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, to pronounce on all such cases, sentenced Mr. Edward Hetherington of Kilnemanagh to death for the same crime. He was executed April 3, being hanged with placards on his breast and back "for not transplanting."

Of the others who perished by sentence of these Courts Martial, sitting in every province, we are not informed in detail, and we need not inquire further.

Among the twenty-nine representatives of Ireland, who sat in the English Parliament in 1654, was the son of a planter of James I., who, born in Ireland, had learned to love the Irish people. He represented the district of Kinsale; and mixing from his cradle with that bright, intelligent, irrepressible southern folk, he conceived them to be, as a people, morally and intellectually superior to their Anglo-Saxon revilers. His soul revolted, while sitting in that fanatical parliament, both against the calumnies uttered in public against the Irish character, and the unjustifiable, suicidal wrong done to the nation by the scheme to which Parliament had committed itself.

He, Vincent Gookin, wrote and published a book, which exploded, like one of our modern Dynamite Cartridges, among the Roundheads of Westminster and Whitehall.*

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* "The Great Case of Transplantation in Ireland Discussed; or certain Considerations, wherein the many great Inconveniences in transplanting the Natives of Ireland . . . into the Province of Connaught are shown," &c. 4to. London: for J. C., 1655.

The new planters—the disbanded soldiers in particular—could not do without the Irish, who, both women and men, were more expert in all kinds of husbandry, and native manufactures: in every one hundred men were to be found at least five or six masons or carpenters, and these more skilful and ready at all sorts of contrivance than any others. The revenue would be ruined by the transplantation; for this came from the abundant crops of corn raised by the Irish and exported to England.

The transplanting multiplied Tories; and Tories made the new plantations outside of Connaught impossible. And then comes this picture of a ruined nation,—the most saddening ever drawn by the hand of man:

"The chiefest and eminentest of the nobility, and many of the gentry, had taken conditions from the King of Spain, and had transported 40,000 of the most active spirited men, most acquainted with the dangers and discipline of war. The priests were all banished. The remaining part of the whole nation was scarce one-sixth part of what they were at the beginning of the war, so great a devastation had God and man brought upon that land. And that handful of natives left were poor laborers, simple creatures, whose sole design was to live and maintain their families, the manner of which was so low, that their design was rather to be pitied than by anybody feared or hindered. . . ."

Then came the difficulty of enforcing transplantation. "The Irish would say they could but find want and ruin at the worst if they stay; and why should they travel so far for that which will come home to them? Against transplantation the Irish have ('tis strange) as great a resentment as against loss of estate, yea, even death itself. But, supposing they should have a dram of rebellious blood in them, or be sullen and not go? Can it be imagined that a whole nation will drive like geese at the wagging of a hat upon a stick? . . . When then will this wild war be finished; Ireland planted; inhabitants disburthened; soldiers settled? The unsettling of a nation is easy work; the settling is not. The opportunity for it is not always: it is now. . .

It had been better if Ireland had been thrown into the sea before the first engagement on it, if it is never to be settled."

Those now armed with power, both in England and in Ireland, were firmly resolved to "settle" the subjugated country in their own way, and once for all. If, on one side, you had the stream of the transplanted impelled toward Connaught by all the means of "suasion" Cromwell and his lieutenants could command; on the other side, you had the hosts of hungry and wrathful soldiers and adventurers, who were waiting for their promised lands. They besieged night and day the Commissioners, the more ancient soldiers thrusting the priority of their claims upon the representatives of Power. Rank behind rank these impatient, expectant multitudes stood wrangling among themselves, bringing to bear upon the Commissioners the mighty pressure of their numbers and their fanaticism.

Hear this clamor ascending from the officers and soldiers nearest to Dublin Castle:* they pray for the immediate and perfect enforcement of the Order of the Council of State in England, confirmed by Parliament Sept. 27, 1653, requiring the removal into Connaught of all the Irish nation, except boys of fourteen and girls of twelve.

"We humbly conceive that the proclamation for transplanting only the proprietors and such as have bin in arms will neither answer the end of safety nor what else is aimed at thereby. For the first purpose of the transplantation is to prevent those of natural principles [i.e., of natural affections] becoming one with those Irish, *as well in affinity as in idolatry*, as many thousands did, who came over in Queen Elizabeth's time, many of which have had a deep hand in all the late murthers and massacres. And shall we join in affinity"—they ask—"with the people of these abominations? Would not the Lord be angry with us till he consumes us, having said, 'The land which ye go to possess is an unclean land, because of the filthiness of the people that dwell therein. Ye shall not therefore give your sons to their daughters, nor take their daughters to your sons,' as it is in Ezra ix. 11, 12, 14. 'Nay, ye shall surely root them out before you, lest they cause you to forsake the Lord your God,' Deut. vii. 2, 3, 4, 16. 18. . . ."*

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* "The humble petition of the Officers within the Precincts of Dublin, Catherlough (Carlow), Wexford, and Kilkenny, in the behalf of themselves, their soldiers, and other faithful English Protestants, to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland."

"Accordingly," says Mr. Prendergast, "the State pressed on the great work. 'They were resolved to see it done.' Again and again they filled the gaols, threatening to execute the criminals.

"Wholesale executions, however, for this crime, seem to have been thought inexpedient; but the Government had no scruple, we see, in sending them to the West Indies."

The Irish Catholics in Ireland were only noxious weeds: THEY MUST BE ROOTED OUT. And into ships they cast them, to be thrown on the rocks of Barbadoes, or handed over as bond-slaves to the planters of Jamaica and of the English colonies on the adjoining continent.

We have seen that Parliament, in ordering the Irish from the other provinces to "transplant" into Connaught, had reserved for "English use" the cities and towns, with a circuit of some miles round each: besides this, the entire province was to be surrounded by a belt of several miles in width reserved to the veteran soldiers, who would thus form a living wall between the Exiles, their former homes, and the outside world beyond the seas. But, by degrees, the area within this circle was narrowed for the transplanted, the entire county of Mayo being set apart to pay the arrears of a privileged portion of the army, and other fertile and favored districts here and there taken up for the same purposes. It was a skilfully devised scheme of completing by gradual suffocation the process of "rooting out" not perfected by enlistment for foreign service or transportation to the West Indies. The native inhabitants of Connaught were considered as having no right to the lands which had belonged from time immemorial to their ancestors, and were separated, of set design, and scattered whithersoever those who fulfilled the orders of the Commissioners thought fit to drive them.

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* "Mercurius Politicus, comprising the Summe of all Intelligence," &c. A weekly publication. P. 5236.

It was exasperating enough to have to give up their own homesteads to their own brethren of Down or Antrim, or Wicklow or Cork; but to lose everything in order to accommodate the descendants of the "Old English," of the men who had ever been the bitterest foes of Irish nationality, was unendurable.

So, there were bitter heart-burnings between the new-comers and the Connaught men themselves. This, however, was only the lightest hardship both had to bear.

The more favored transplanters who had settled down at first in some of the more fertile districts, and had there begun to build and to plant and to provide against all future need, were soon ordered to remove to another place, when Government, yielding to the violent pressure of the "land-hungry," took from the Canaanite idolaters the portions allotted to them, and drove them out further into the barren wilderness.

Woe to the transplanter who had saved money or other valuables from the wreck of his fortune. The long chain of officials through whose hands he had to pass, from the Commissioners at Loughrea and their subalterns, to the toll-gatherers at the fords of the Shannon, to the surveyors who marked out his assigned lands, and the officers who installed him in his new homestead,—all had to be bribed. If he had no money, no valuables, a part of the lands assigned to him must be given over to the surveyor or to the officials who watched over the peace of the district, and on whose breath, not unfrequently, hung the life or death of the poor hunted, heart-broken wayfarers.

"The Cootes, the Kings, the Binghams, the Coles, the St. Georges, the Ormsbys, the Gores, the Lloyds having thus defrauded transplanters of part of their lots, bought up the remnant at two shillings and sixpence, and three shillings per acre, and at the utmost, five shillings. Major Byrne, having a decree from Athlone for 2,000 acres, gave Sir James Cuffe, one of the officers of transplantation at Loughrea, two hundred for obtaining his assistance in procuring the remainder. . . . Or the officer purchased the Athlone decree for a song, and then got his brother officers to set him out larger scopes than the transplanter was entitled to." *

How did these multitudes of men, women, and children house themselves and find sufficient food amid all the difficulties of their new abode?

One noble lady,—the wife of Sir Luke Fitzgerald, from Tieroghan Castle, Meath, wrote on June 13, 1655, "that all the gentry were transplanted, and fain to live under the air, or in such barracks as her correspondent had at Ballinakill in the siege time." †

Dr. French, Bishop of Ferns, whose letters about Wexford have already been quoted, says: "Many opulent persons of good quality; yea, and many of them peers and lords of the realm, were lodged in smoky cabins, and, as might well be said, buried there, and starved to death with their wives and children."

The Government vainly ordered the Loughrea Commissioners to give the first transplanters good lands and good accommodation, for the purpose of encouraging others to follow, and thus to expedite the work. The very first who came, however, were, in direct violation of the order, assigned the Baronies of Burren and Inchiquin in the county Clare, famed for their sterility.

Then, as the work went on, and the despairing transplanters, to avoid hanging or transportation and slavery, hurried toward their Siberia, intolerable hardships and delays awaited them.

So great was the land-hunger, so loud and furious the clamor of the multitudes possessed with it, and so firmly set was the purpose of the various Committees in Ireland charged with the transplanting, —that the Irish Papists should be rooted out,—that no favor was shown even to the inhabitants of the Munster towns, who had been most faithful to England, and had suffered most for their fidelity. A Court sate at Mallow to pass on the "qualifications" of these suf-

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* "Cromwellian Conquest," p. 151; where he quotes the original documents in the Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

† *Ibid.*

ferers; one of the Judges was the notorious Regicide Cooke, who, of course, was resolved to transplant or transport every individual Papist brought before him.

"Upon mature consideration," writes this worthy, and his compeers on the bench of injustice, to the Government, "upon mature consideration (so far as the Lord hath enabled us) we have proceeded to judgment in the causes depending before us, and have not adjudged constant good affection to any one of the claimants; but the law will be clear for most of them to have two parts in Connaught. . . . We spared no pains to distinguish the merits of each case; and as we were selecting ten or twenty that might best pretend to be legally restored to their own estates, the next claimants had instantly as much to say for themselves; and when we had named and weighed about eighty-six cases, . . . presently the claimants' counsel named others to us, which we in our reason could not deny but that they did equally merit with the rest, so, &c. . . . They make great asseverations that they dare not go into Connaught for fear of their lives, and that they had rather be sent to the Barbadoes. . . ."

The Court sitting at Mallow (by exception) and permanently at Athlone, and over which John Cooke presided, was thus deciding the fate of Ireland and of the Irish race.

Can the reader form to himself a picture, or any adequate conception of the misery and sufferings of an entire people thus, literally, disinherited, despoiled, and driven by their armed enemies into exile, poverty, exposure to the inclemency of the seasons, and often into starvation; and, all the while, the inhuman wretches who had robbed, ruined, and driven them out of house, home, and native land, quoting the Bible in justification of their barbarity, blaspheming God's name and insulting His goodness, by pretending to be doing His work, a righteous and godly work, by exterminating, starving to death, or enslaving a Christian people?

"With such spectacles daily and hourly before their eyes, it is no wonder that the transplanted who could find means to fly, or were not tied by large families of children, sold their assignments for a mere trifle to the officers of government, and fled in horror and aversion from the scene, and embarked for Spain. Some went mad; as Christopher Eustace, of the county of Kildare, restored to his estate, at the King's restoration, as 'Mad Eustace' (for though he recovered his estate, he never recovered his wits); others killed themselves like Molly Hore, wife of Philip Hore of Kilsallaghan Castle, seven miles north of Dublin, who, on getting the summons to transplant to Connaught, went down to her stable and hanged herself. Others lived on and founded families in their Final Settlement which subsist to this day, like some of the Talbots and the Cheevers."

So much for the Irish Catholics of noble or of gentle blood. Among these few, if any, bearing Celtic patronymics had, apparently, been left among the exiled multitudes. They had been lavish of their lives on the battle-field; and the sword of the Parliamentarian drank their blood greedily when the fury of battle had spared them and fortune betrayed them into the hands of the foe. So many of them were serving abroad, drowning their sorrows in the intoxication of glorious warfare, or forgetting them awhile in the splendor of foreign courts. Others, at home, wandered outlawed among bogs, and woods, and mountain fastnesses. Little chance had they even to obtain the dubious favor of transplantation, or of hiding their distinction by mixing with the common herd. At this distance in time from these fearful days, we, the descendants of that persecuted race, have no idea of the admirable system organized by our oppressors, for distinguishing, as they passed the military garrisons, the court of Athlone, the Commissioners' Office in Roscrea, the fords across the Shannon, and the innumerable posts along every road to their respective "assignments,"—every man, woman, and child from each other and their neighbors.

Thank God, some of the Records of these transactions still exist, to be published in full, when the Irish people are the masters of their own destinies and the possessors of their own native land.

But what was the fate, what were the sufferings, of that "common herd," that mass of Celts, whose lives were accounted as of far less value than that of the animals they drove before them toward the pastures of Connaught? What befell them and their brother-Celts of Connaught, when thus "packed" and enclosed in that narrow penn between the Shannon and the sea?

They suffered, they kept the faith, they put their trust in the God of their fathers,—the God mighty and powerful to save; they hoped against hope; and rose superior to every trial of their endurance, their courage, and their constancy. They still live,—this people of confessors and martyrs, this nation still striving after the fulness of its nationhood with all the energy of a spirit which no suffering has quelled or appalled, and which gathers strength as it moves on towards the goal, like the St. Lawrence around Montreal, when the rapids are past, and all is peaceful and smooth, moving majestically and resistlessly onward to the Ocean.

I repeat the words of Vincent Gookin, addressed to the English Parliament of 1655: "When will this wild war of English unreason and injustice toward the Irish people be finished? When will Ireland be planted with those acts of simple equity, those institutions in conformity with enlightened freedom and Christian civilization, which will bring forth lasting fruits of order and peace, instead of being sown all over with these seeds of inveterate wrong, which, with every spring-tide, appear above the earth threatening a harvest of crime, disaster, and national calamity? 'The unsettling of a nation is easy work; the settling is not. The opportunity for it is not always. IT IS NOW.'"

Here in our free America, where men are not afraid to weigh the cause of nations in the scales of impartial justice, I appeal even to the descendants of the Puritans, not only in New England, but all over the Union. Have you, have the English race in Great Britain, ever reflected seriously on the enormous, the unjustifiable, the incredible wrong committed by the entire English people on those of the Sister Island?

By what singular providence did it happen that the appeals made by the Commonwealth to Protestants of every foreign nation, even to the Hussites of Bohemia, to colonize the other three Provinces of Ireland, could find no response there? And, more singular still, why were not the Puritans of New England, so earnestly, so pathetically appealed to, induced to return and share with the English adventurers and soldiers, the empty homesteads of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster,—the fair and fertile ploughlands of the Green Isle, and the comfortable habitations in the almost tenantless cities?

The effort of Government and People aimed at establishing there a Protestant nation. The Papist transplanters in Connaught would, they reasonably hoped, be so hemmed in, so thinned by suffering, so divided by intermingling with the "superior race," and coming nearer to the light of a "purer religion," soon become English in speech, manners, and creed.

As the "Settlement" of Ireland went on, besides the purely English Colony contemplated between the Barrow and the Boyne, and the purely Irish imprisoned in Connaught, there was planned a mixed one in the intermediate counties; but this was to be a regular proselytizing school. "In this mixed plantation no transplantable persons were to be taken as tenants or servants, and only such Irish as should be in each case specially authorized by the State. The landlords were to be bound to make them speak English within a limited time; and their children were to be taught no Irish: they were to observe the manners of the English in their habits and deportment wherein the English exceeded them. Their children were to be brought up under English Protestant school-masters; they were to attend the public preaching of Protestant ministers; they were to abandon their Irish names of Teig, and Dermot, and the like, and to call themselves by the significance of such names in English; and for the future were to name their children with English names, especially omitting the (O') and (Mc); and, lastly, should build their houses with chimneys as English in like capacity do, and demean themselves in their lodging and other deportments accordingly." *

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* "The Cromwellian Settlement," pp. 247, 248; where the author quotes Colonel Lawrence's "The great Interest of England in the Well Planting of Ireland with English People," 1656.

They purposed doing thoroughly "the work" of "converting" the Irish remnant to English ways in religion as in all else, since all methods of extermination had only had a partial success. Looking back to the year of calamity 1652, when God and men seemed to have forsaken the Catholic Irish, we cannot help a feeling of sadness as we try to conceive how dark and despairing was the prospect before them, and a feeling of unspeakable gratitude that He for whom they suffered did not fail them in their trust.

With what exultation those who admired Cromwell and were in sympathy with his methods of propagating the Gospel, looked on the desperate plight to which Popery in Ireland had been reduced!

"The expectation of this day," said one of these, in dedicating a book on Ireland to the Lord Protector, and the Lord Deputy Fleetwood, "is the hope of Israel. I look somewhat upon the hopeful appearance of replanting Ireland shortly, not only by Adventurers, but haply by the calling in of exiled Bohemians and other Protestants also, but haply by the invitation of some well-affected out of the Low Countries."* The Act of Sept. 1653, gave to all foreign Protestants the rights of citizenship in Ireland. In 1651 the Commissioners for Ireland urged the famous New England Puritan Preacher, Harrison, to come back to Ireland, and sow the good seed in its soil. Then going back to America, he might encourage his brethren there to return to their native country and settle in Ireland. Harrison did not or could not respond to the invitation. In 1655, however, proposals were made and accepted for colonizing Sligo and its neighborhood. In 1656 several families from New England came to Limerick and were located on State lands at Garristown, near Dublin.

The providence of God had reserved another and a far more glorious mission to the New England Colonies.

Meanwhile the imperious need of human aid in their labors,—perhaps of human companionship in the waste which surrounded them,—made the planters of the North and the South of Ireland overlook all legal enactments, and invite the Creaghts and other Irish wanderers to help them till the ground. The officers and soldiers who had been a long time in Ireland, now that the conflict was ended, and that their land-hunger was appeased by possession, felt their prejudices and a little of their fanaticism falling away from them. Not only did they tolerate, first, and then court the neighborhood and companionship of the banned Irish, but intermarried with them. And things went so far, that in 1651 Ireton forbade such marriages under the severest penalties to the soldier. In 1652 the marriage of an officer or a soldier with an Irishwoman was made punishable by loss of rank, arrears, and title to any land or inheritance in Ireland. All these prohibitions produced only a very partial and temporary effect. There has ever been, so far as history can go back to describe the manners and morals of the Irish people, a purity, a simplicity, and withal a heartiness and hospitality about them in social intercourse,—which cannot fail to impress and captivate even the most hostile.

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* "Ireland's Natural History," by Gerard Boate. 4to. London, 1652.

So, by degrees, the Irish, in spite of all legal penalties, became mixed up with the English settlers,—the Creaghts as farm-servants and herdsmen, the cultivators as tenants-at-will, and the former proprietors, in their fond attachment to the patrimonial estate, often consenting to accept the privilege of living there in the same capacity of tenants, and of cultivating a few of the acres of their former broad domain.

All this happened in direct violation of the will of both the English and the Irish Governments. This was done more openly in Munster. The rigorous Acts regulating transplantation were again and again enforced, as we shall see presently. But still the Irish prevailed.

How did it fare with the purely English Colony, situated within the territory bounded by the Boyne and the Barrow? After a time, the Government feeling sure that no Irish did or could inhabit the country north of Dublin, between the Liffey and the Boyne, limited their scheme to the FIVE COUNTIES,—that part of Dublin County south of the Liffey, together with Wicklow, Wexford, Kildare, and

Carlow. On July 17, 1654, it was ordered that all this territory should be "wholly transplanted of Irish Papists," by May 1, 1655, on pain of all such persons found therein after that date being taken as spies, and dealt with according to martial law.

It was thus intended to use no half-measures in ridding this favored territory of the hated race and religion. The English proprietors, old and new, protested. They were given a hearing before the Privy Council in Dublin on February 19, 1655. The land could not be tilled without the Irish. A committee was appointed to examine and determine which parts in the Counties should be totally cleared of Irish; in which parts Irish, who were neither proprietors nor swordsmen, might be tolerated. But the general order was not withdrawn. Delay after delay occurred. It was hoped that tenants and farm-laborers would come from England. None came, however. At length a special commission was appointed to regulate the matter and to lay down stringent conditions regarding such Irish as were thus to be retained.

The proprietor bound himself to make, within six months, Protestants of all transplantable persons kept in his service, and the Government was to be satisfied that the change of religion was no feigned one. The converts were to hear the Lord's Word in the meeting-house every Lord's Day, if such meeting-house were within four miles; every other Lord's Day, if within six miles; if further. once a month. Their children were to learn the catechism in the English tongue, without book, and as taught by the minister. But the Government,—says Mr. Prendergast,—seems to have forgotten the naming the children with English names; and the chimneys, and the English deportment in houses, lodging, and manners, wherein the English exceeded them. But probably there was about as much use in the one as the other. The landlords wanted their labor, and not English piety, or Anglo-Saxon elegance. For though the letter of one of the officers remains, requesting the prayers of their friends, that now they had come to possess houses they had not built, and vineyards they had not planted, they might not forget the

Lord and His goodness to them in the day of their distress; one that knew them well a few years later said, he had hunted with them, diced with them, drunk with them, and fought with them, but had never prayed with them; and another, that an Irish Protestant was a man who ate meat on a Friday, and hated a Papist.

During the remaining years of the Commonwealth, if the Government perforce connived at the retention of Irish Papists on some points of the Desert the Sword, the Bible, and Transplantation had created,—it was only on conditions like those just mentioned, of forcing the exempted persons to apostatize. Apparently, their success in this respect was very limited.

But, before quitting this portion of our subject, let us glance at this Desert over which Cromwell and his lieutenants ruled in Ireland.

1. *The Story of Connaught.*

We have not dared to draw a truthful picture of Connaught during the two or three first years after the Act of Transplantation was enforced. We believe,—and in this we are borne out by the concurrent testimony of the eye-witnesses and contemporaries of the events we have just been narrating,—that nothing but the divinest consolations of Religion in the very extremity of ill, nothing but the most heroic charity of the Irish bishops and priests clinging with invincible constancy to their persecuted flocks,—could have prevented Connaught, under the circumstances here described, from becoming a hell upon earth, and the grave as well of the Irish nationality.

Who knows but some one of the sons of Ireland now living, catching the inspiration which has produced such works as the "Cromwellian Settlement," will undertake the history of the Province during the dark days of the Commonwealth and down to the landing of the French at Killala. What a narrative—surpassing in tragic interest and equalling in sublime moral instruction the Exodus of Moses—would be the story, not only of what the despoiled Irish endured on their way to Connaught, but the untold and unspeakable trials endured there! Travelers now-a-days seek pleasant recreation and healthful exercise in visiting the grand and romantic scenery of the western sea-coast from the mouth of the Shannon to the Bay of Donegal. Artists roam over its broad estuaries and beautiful lakes, its weird and picturesque mountain-scenery, to gather there both inspiration and the materials for their pencil. The lakes and mountains, the cities and hamlets of Palestine in the age of Matthathias the Macchabee and his heroic sons, never beheld such religious heroism, such touching self-sacrifice to God, to country, to the dear love of kindred and race,—as hallowed and illumined every portion of that Province, so deserving of the eternal veneration of Irishmen.

St. Patrick, his most authorized biographers say, spent the entire Lenten Season in solitude, fasting, and prayer, on the lofty summit of the mountain that bears his name, and which dominates the glorious expanse of Clew Bay, with its clusters of islands. Evil spirits innumerable, some times appearing as flocks of dusky birds, disturbed the saint in his devotions. What were the prophetic visions which God vouchsafed to His great servant in these solitary meditations, and while the Evil One thus intruded upon his solitude? Were the tears he shed there, and the fervent prayers poured forth night and day by this spiritual parent of the Irish race, caused by seeing, not so much the combined efforts of the spirits of darkness to prevent the conversion of the nation from idolatry,—but by having revealed to him the frightful slaughter and persecutions of this faithful people at the period we have been describing?

The great Hebrew Prophet and Liberator poured forth a magnificent hymn of thanksgiving as he beheld his people united and victorious beneath him, within sight of the Promised Land, and then ascended the mountain top to yield his spirit to the Creator. I ask myself if the victories of Israel over Edom, and Moab, and Canaan, were more glorious to the Hebrew race, than is to the Irish people their having outlived the tremendous ordeals we have enumerated, and preserved their faith in God and their undying hopes of freedom and nationality through the centuries spent in the furnace and the flame.

To bishops like Nicholas French, hunted like a wild beast through wood and bog and mountain wild, and living for months and years without secure cover or shelter,—what a spectacle was that of these multitudes pouring into Connaught, and seeking with weary feet and sinking hearts some corner of earth to rest and die upon, as they looked up to Him who is the Judge of the whole earth? And to the heroic priests, who, under a hundred disguises, attended the transplanted emigrants on the road, braving the ever-watchful eyes and pitiless steel of their military guards, to minister more than a cup of cold water to wayfarers through the sandy desert,—sweet words of fatherly, brotherly consolation to the fainting spirit, the sacramental graces of religion to hearts athirst for supernatural strength amid trials surpassing the utmost endurance of nature,—what a sight were these provinces through which their road lay westward!

2. *The Wilderness outside of Connaught.*

"Ireland, in the language of Scripture, now lay void as a wilderness. Five-sixths of her people had perished. Women and children were daily found perishing in ditches, starved. The bodies of many wandering orphans,* whose fathers had embarked for Spain, and whose mothers had died of famine, were preyed upon by wolves. In the years 1652 and 1653, the plague and famine had swept away whole counties, that a man might travel twenty or thirty miles, and not see a living creature. Man, beast, and bird were all dead, or had quit these desolate places. The troopers would tell stories of the place where they saw a smoke,—it was so rare to see either smoke by day, or fire or candle by night. If two or three cabins were met with, there were found there none but aged men, with women and children; and they, in the words of the prophet, 'become as a bottle in the smoke; their skins black like an oven, because of the terrible famine.' They were seen to pluck carrion out of a ditch, black and rotten; and were said to have even taken corpses out of the grave to eat. . . . Such was the depopulation of Ireland, that great part of it, it was believed, must lie waste many years—much for many ages." *

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* Mr. Prendergast here adds this note taken from the original document in Dublin Castle: "Upon serious consideration (say the Lords of the Privy Council) had of the great multitudes of poore swarming in all parts of this nacion, occasioned by the devastation of the country, and by the habits of licentiousness and idleness which the generality of the people have acquired in the time of this rebellion; insomuch that some are found frequently feeding on carrion and weeds—some starved in the highways, and many times poor children who lost their parents, or have been deserted by them, are found exposed to, and some of them fed upon by, ravening wolves and other beasts and birds of prey." *Printed Declaration of Council,* 12th May, 1653.

"ORDER FOR BANISHING ALL PRIESTS.

"Whereas, it is now manifest from many years' experience that Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and Persons in Popish Orders in Ireland, estrange the affections of the people from due obedience to the English Commonwealth, and under pretence of Religion excite them to rebellion, *which gave rise to the barbarous murders of 1641 and the destructive war which followed.* And whereas many persons who obtained leave to transport themselves beyond the seas do nevertheless delay their departure. Now, that such persons may have no further opportunity of leading people astray, from which no ordinary admonition can withhold them, though they thus expose their lives to danger, *and threaten to ruin this miserable nation,* they are all to withdraw in twenty days; but outstaying this time, or returning after they have once withdrawn, they will be subjected to the penalties of the 27th Elizabeth. Given at Dublin, 6th January, 1652–3.

"*Signed,* CHARLES FLEETWOOD, EDMUND LUDLOW,
MILES CORBET, JOHN JOHNES."

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* The utter waste and desolation of the country is truthfully described by the English writers who traveled through it at the time; and some of whom, like Colonel Lawrence, had been active in causing all this ruin. As to the horrors imputed here to the famished Irish, and one appalling instance of which, taken from Lawrence's work, is described in the text,—they are related for a very different purpose. The country is described as waste and desolate to tell the English that they may come to inhabit it without fearing an enemy; the horrible feasts of the famine-stricken are designed to make the Irish hateful.

So it was THE PRIEST who had incited to rebellion and massacre; who had caused the terrible war lasting eleven years; who had depopulated, wasted, and ruined the land.

The men who governed at Dublin in Cromwell's place, lift their voices in solemn proclamation, amid that howling wilderness where the wolf feeds on the corpses of the famished widows and orphans of the slain, and the outlawed and hunted Papists are driven by the rabid pangs of starvation to feed on herbs, on carrion, on . . . (But, no!); and they dare to say before the High God and the civilized world, that Cromwell is not to blame for all this destruction and desolation; that they, who have poured out human blood like the waters of the Liffey, are not to blame; that the Lords Justices Parsons and Borlase, who sate in that Council Chamber before them, did not plot and plan there rebellion, and massacre, and civil war, and the utter extermination of the Irish people; and command, through their Cootes, and St. Legers, and Broghills, and Inchiquins, and Tichbornes, the destruction and desolation "by fire and sword" without sparing man, woman, or child, of the country around them from sea to sea.

It is the Priest who has slain, and ruined, and desolated!

So, as they must now hunt the Wolf lest he prey upon the living, and, having nothing to feed on in the uninhabited country places, he may enter city and town and attack man, woman, and child of the English; so must they hunt the Priest, drive him from the land, exterminate the whole brood of Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and all clothed with "Popish Orders."

"Mr. Justice John Cooke (afterwards brought himself to the scaffold as a regicide) at a general sessions held before him at Clonmel, cried aloud from the bench that all Irishmen living on 23d October, 1641, or born since in Ireland to that same day, *were all traitors by an order made at Derby House.*"* Under this measure more than one thousand priests were sent into exile, and amongst them all the surviving bishops but one, the Bishop of Kilmore, who, weighed down by age and infirmities, as he was unable to perform his functions, so too he was unable to fly."

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* "Memorials of the War of 1641. Written in the year 1657, by James Kearney of Fethard," p. 4. "Carte Papers," vol. 64, p. 432.

Imprisonment, tortures, banishment to the Continent of Europe, could not and did not prevent the faithful Irish Priests and Bishops from returning to their flocks as soon as a favorable opportunity presented itself. Of course, this was certain death to them when discovered again on Irish soil. So, instead of transporting them, or allowing them to "transport themselves" to Spain and Portugal, to France or the Low Countries,—the Irish Government sent them as slaves to Barbadoes;—not unwilling slaves, however. These apostolic men knew how many thousands of their brethren were laboring in bondage there, deprived of all spiritual succor, the multitudes of young men and women, especially, exposed to all the seductions of proselytism, and to the unnamable dangers inseparable from West Indian slavery.

The Priests returned from the Continent in such numbers in the last months of 1655, "that a general arrest by the justices of the peace was ordered, under which, in April, 1656, the prisons in every part of Ireland seem to have been filled to overflowing. On 3d of May the governors of the respective precincts were ordered to send them with sufficient guards to Carrickfergus, to be there put on board such ship as should sail with the first opportunity to the Barbadoes."

But, in all likelihood, it was soon found that in the Barbadoes or elsewhere in the West Indies, these slave-missionaries found a most fruitful field of labor. So, they must be put where they should have no opportunity for exercising their priestly zeal; and in February, 1657, it was decreed that the priests in the Dublin prisons should be sent to the Arran Islands, at the entrance to Galway Bay, and to the Isle of Innisboffin, off the coast of Connemara. There were strange stone structures dating from prehistoric times, which the early Christian hermits and monks had occupied and added to in the days when

Ireland's learning and Ireland's holiness shone like twin-beacons illumining the whole of Western Europe. Thither now were sent these glorious confessors of the Faith, to sing together perpetual praise for being allowed to suffer for His Name, and to lift perpetually in Ireland's behalf the hands that had borne chains in her cause, and ministered to the sorest needs of her children.

Far more glorious to the Irish Church is the age of the Martyr Oliver Plunket than the age of Columbanus.

And what was left of the Irish People was not unworthy of such noble teachers, guides, and models. Other leading classes there were none. Soldiers and nobles were in other lands. Every means which human ingenuity could devise, or which unscrupulous power could use, had been employed to leave the impoverished and demoralized remnants of the people without their natural leaders;—and with singular success. But the Irish people resembled those of no other European nation. They never had been helots, or serfs. In the ancient Celtic society of which they had kept the spirit alive, even when its forms fell away from them one after the other, the clansmen were, at bottom, brothers and equals. The Hungarians and the Basques most resembled the Irish in this. When, therefore, their own ancient nobility were annihilated, as a first step toward breaking up the clan-organization, and when the Anglo-Irish nobles and gentry, who had been such powerful agents and instruments in so breaking up our Celtic forms, had, in their turn, fallen under the Cromwellian mace of steel,—our Irish Creaghts and Kerne, our ploughmen, and our shepherds, as well as what remained of our swordmen, did not forsake themselves. Their blood was as good as that of O'Neill or O'Donnell, of O'Reilly or Maguire or Magennis, of O'Brien or O'Connor or Mac Carty: these were only the chosen representatives and leaders of the Tribes into which the great Celtic Family of Ireland was divided. The Tribesmen still remained, although the leaders had disappeared.

English they would not, could not be. Protestants they would not be: the Reform preached by Luther and Calvin they needed not.

In spite of all the evils and social disorder of the Danish invasions, and of the Anglo-Norman occupation, the Celtic Irish had found in the intellectual culture and moral conduct of their clergy, both secular and regular, nothing to lessen their reverence for their sacred character, or their confidence in them as their religious guides. The peculiar doctrines of the Reformers found no sympathetic echo in their minds or their hearts. The Reformation, as embodied in the ecclesiastical and political innovations of Henry and Elizabeth provoked the ridicule, scorn, and contempt of a keen-witted and liberty-loving race.

Now that the Reformed Religion was again presented to them in the mutilated version of the Bible dealt out to the red-handed troopers and pike-men of Ireton, Ludlow, and Fleetwood,—their whole soul revolted at the idea that a religion so symbolized, expounded by the very men who ordered the massacres of Drogheda and Wexford and Cashel, could in any wise resemble the loved teachings of Patrick and Columkille and Columbanus.

So, in every man of those whom the sword had spared in Connaught, or in the multitudes compelled to seek refuge in Connaught from the other provinces,—you had a great-souled man, who believed with his whole heart in God and in Ireland, and who was resolved, come what might of suffering, to hold fast till death to this twofold Faith.

Who will not admire and honor such men?

Let a Protestant pen complete this portraiture of the Irishmen of 1655.

"Each of these men bearing his great heart above despair, watched for vengeance on the enemies of his race, and waited for the resurrection of his country. They scorned the preaching of their priests and gentry of English blood. They knew them to be as truly English at heart as the children of the old Romans, though born in Britain, were still Romans. When the only hope of safety for both naturalized English and native Irish was a union to support Charles II., the Irish refused it. They would not be parties to placing their country, as the gentry desired, under the rule of a people that for ages had injured them and scorned them. Father Christopher Plunket, a friar of English race, was employed as an ambassador to the Irish party in 1650. He reported that they would rather pull God out of His throne, or throw themselves headlong into the sea, than become loyal to the Crown of England. They knew that the King of England would be the puppet of Parliament. And they had ever known the Parliament as a body of conspirators against the religion, property, liberties, good fame, and very existence of the Irish people.

"The Irish, thus defeated by the overpowering force of England, or rather by the coldness for the contest of their half-hearted leaders, most of them of the old English blood, who feared the victory for the nation more than conquest by the enemy, now dispersed themselves in woods and mountains and bogs, and thence fell down like wolves on the usurpers of their homes and country. *These were the* TORIES."*

We quote Father Plunket's words, while seriously questioning their truthfulness and accuracy. It is not likely that men who had, like their fathers before them for many a generation, risked and lost everything, rather than betray their allegiance to God, would, under any supposition, express themselves as ready to "pull God from His throne." The truth with regard to the answer made by these much-tried men to the ambassador of a party, who had ever been the curse of Ireland, and whose half-hearted coöperation or covert treachery had just defeated the national effort toward independence,—must have been that the placing of the national religion, and the political rights inseparable from it, in the power of that same Anglo-Irish party and their Stuart King, was tantamount to dethroning God in their hearts, and homes, and country.

Be that as it may, no one who reads the original letter of Father Plunket but will say, that he was one who meant no good to the "mere Irish" Catholics. And they understood him and rejected his advances with a scorn and indignation which we heartily share.

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* "Cromwellian Conquest," pp. 330–32.

So, these were the brave men, to whom Ormonde first and his party, and then the Parliamentarians, gave the name of TORIES. We have just heard their voice, amid the desolation of Ireland, and the silence of general despair, uttering their cry of defiance to the all-powerful conquerors.

Their raids upon the English settlers, while the transplantation was going on, served as an additional pretext for exercising against all the Catholics "under Protection," outside of Connaught, the most tyrannical exactions.

The Catholics were held responsible for all the wild deeds of these outlaws. For the property destroyed or carried away, or for the lives lost in the foray, all the Irish Catholics were assessed in the locality. Later, and when these fines had exhausted the slender resources of these poor Papists, the adjoining baronies, those especially through which the Tories "had passed" on their raid, were held accountable. It was convenient to the oppressor to presume that the outlaws were the kindred of these Papists, and that these connived at, if they did not abet, their misdeeds.

Fining, like bloodletting, has a limit; and that limit was reached at the beginning of 1653. It was ordered that as no more money could be levied for these Tory depredations, for no more money was left, the "protected Papists" of the locality where the offence was committed should transplant to Connaught. Thus the whole town of Timolin was transplanted.

"The Irish had been driven," the Government proclamation said, "from garrisons, castles, and places of strength, to bogs and woods. There they lurked, watching for opportunities to commit murders and outrages, which, through the blessing of the Lord, might be prevented, if the Irish inhabitants of this nation did not privately succor them."

Another good reason for fresh and energetic measures of extermination against these unteachable, incorrigible Irish.

"For a remedy"—Mr. Prendergast adds—"four persons of the neighborhood and of the Irish nation and Popish religion, were to be taken, and after twenty-eight days transported to the English plantations in America, if the criminals were not previously amenable; and all the Irish inhabitants of the Popish religion in the barony were to be transplanted, except such as could prove their 'constant good affection' to the tyrants of their country. But no laws bind, no punishments can restrain outraged nature. The hatred of the Irish to their tyrants increased with their increasing severity." *

Two men, lately soldiers and in the pay of the State, having been murdered at Lackagh in Kildare, while working in the houses of some of the transplanted, "all the Irish of Lackagh of the Popish religion (except four who were hanged for the benefit of the rest), to the number of thirty-seven—being three priests, twenty-one women, and thirteen men, were, on the 27th Nov. 1655, delivered to Captain Coleman, of the 'Wexford' frigate, for transportation to the Barbadoes. . . . There was (among them) the whole family of Mr. Henry Fitzgerald of Lackagh Castle. . . . He and his wife . . . (both of the House of Kildare) were fourscore years and upwards. . . . The Tories too had frequently despoiled them. Yet they, with their son Maurice, their daughters Margery and Bridget, Mary, the widow of their oldest son, Henry, with their man servant and maid servant, had to lie in prison till the ship could be got ready to carry them with the rest of this miserable cargo. They were assigned to the correspondents of Mr. Norton, a Bristol merchant and sugar-planter, who was to be at the charge of transplanting them to the Indian Bridges, now called Barbadoes.

"But these severities only exasperated the Tories, who were quickened to action by the sight of their ancient gentry begging at the usurpers' doors. What must they not have felt to see Lord Roche and his daughters reduced to beggary, and forced to walk on foot to Connaught, to end their days there in some cabin, while their ancient inheritance was divided between the cornet of some English regiment of horse and his troop? . . .

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* Dated at Dublin, 19th April, 1655. "Perfect Proceedings of State," &c., p. 4676. Quoted by Mr. Prendergast, pp. 337, 338.

"But how must the feelings of national hatred have been heightened by seeing everywhere crowds of such unfortunates, their brothers, cousins, kinsmen, and by beholding the whole country given up a prey to hungry, insolent soldiers and Adventurers from England, mocking their wrongs and triumphing in their own irresistible power? . . .

"They resolved no longer to wait for the aid of the French or Spaniards. 'Are we alone'—they said one to another—'of all the nations of the world, not thought fit to live in our own country? Are we alone, like the profanest outlaws, to be driven from our native soil? Shall we linger here, to show foreign nations the distinguishing mark the English have set upon us?' "*

No threats, no penalties, no hardships endured by themselves, no misfortunes happening to their fellows, could intimidate these desperate men. In vain did the Government have recourse to the usual weapon of bribery to get Tory to betray or murder his brother Tories. They were too faithful to each other, too set in their invincible hatred of the oppressor, to listen to the promise of gold, of pardon, of promotion, of wealth for the performance of treachery. They were hunted down like wolves,—hunted by single men, and by organized bands, as Blennerhassett hunted the Irish of Fermanagh in 1610–11. The inspection of the Public Accounts Record in Dublin showed the author of the "Cromwellian Conquest" the sums paid on the heads of murdered Tories, and the numbers slain among these indomitable haters of everything English.

And yet the race of them survived,—because the Wrong which begat revolt and desperate resolutions waxed stronger and was perpetuated: they continued to be the terror of the Plunderers and Adventurers who possessed the broad lands of the disinherited and outlawed Celt.

So, from out the universal desolation, discouragement, and despair, ever sounded for more than a century the midnight shout of the avenging Tory, and the clash of his steel was a protest against the boast that Ireland was subjugated and subdued, that no arm was raised in her defence, and no voice dared to speak of her restoration to independence.

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* "Cromwellian Conquest," p. 341.

ISAAC BUTT. M. P.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY O'SHEA LIMERICK.

PART FIFTH.

THE LAST PERIOD OF WRONG (1660—1885).

I.

The Last Stewarts.

WHAT was the origin of that RIGHT by which the Irish landlords thus substituted to the native proprietors, have held since 1650 down to the present time? Surely this is a question that deserves to be looked into by all who would understand the present struggle in Ireland between the mass of the people and the landed aristocracy. The idea that an enormous, an unparalleled injustice was committed by the Parliament under Cromwell, and perpetuated by subsequent legislatures and Governments, has been slowly dawning on the minds of English Statesmen and Publicists, as well as upon the more enlightened and liberal-minded among the English people.

It is, therefore, the time to submit to them, and, indeed, to the opinion of the whole civilized world, certain facts which will direct every judicial mind, every unprejudiced person, to examine further, to weigh the legislative acts by which the property of a whole nation was transferred from the legitimate owners to strangers.

"It cannot be imagined," says Carte, "in how easy a method and with what peaceable formality, this whole great Kingdom was taken from the just lords and proprietors, and divided and given amongst those who had no other right to it but that they had power to keep it; no men having so great shares as they who had been instruments to murder the King, and were not like willingly to part with it to his successor. Where any great sums of money for arms, ammunition, or any great merchandise, had been so long due that they were looked upon as desperate, the creditors subscribed all those sums due as lent upon adventure, and had their satisfaction assigned to them as Adventurers. Ireland was the great capital, out of which all debts were paid, all services rewarded, and all acts of bounty performed." *

This writer, hostile as he is, like his model statesman, Ormonde, to the Irish Catholics, states the case very mildly, as against the English. We have another witness in one of the chief actors in this great Drama of Spoliation and Massacre, Lord Broghill. Here is a passage from his Memoirs:

"After the subduing of Ireland, there was no small consultation, how to divide every one's portion. At last, at a council of war of all the commanders, Lord Broghill proposed, that the whole kingdom might be surveyed, and the numbers of acres taken, with the quality of them; and then all the soldiers to bring in their demands of arrears, and so to give to every man, by lot, as many acres of ground, as might answer the value of their arrears.

"This was agreed on; and all Ireland being surveyed, and the value of acres given in, the highest was valued only at four shillings the acre, and some only at a penny. Accordingly they took the names of all that were in arrear, who drew lots in what part of the kingdom their portion should be; and in this manner the whole kingdom was divided among the conquerors and adventurers of money." †

But some form of legality must be given to the resolution of this "Council of War" sitting on the corpse of a nation, and concluding to draw lots in dividing her inheritance. The English Parliament (whose acts, be it borne in mind, had never been admitted in Ireland save only as sanctioned by the Parliament of Ireland and the King)

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* "Life of Ormonde," vol. ii., Append. 33.

† "Orrery's Memoirs," i. 39.

immediately took steps to have this determination of its Commanders in Ireland carried out and clothed with such legal formalities as would prevent future litigation. As a preliminary, Cromwell appointed his son-in-law Fleetwood to be Lord Deputy in Ireland, and four of the Protector's most trusty followers were assigned to Fleetwood as Parliamentary Commissioners to govern Ireland with supreme power (Aug. 1652). In the same month (Aug. 12, 1652), Parliament passed the first Act of Settlement. The Commissioners, without losing a moment, in pursuance of their instructions to use the powers this Act conferred, began by establishing a High Court of Justice to try all Irish Catholics who had murdered any Protestant or Englishman out of battle since Oct. 23, 1641. All found guilty were to forfeit life and estate. Of course, there was no inquiry to be held about Irish Catholics murdered by Englishmen all through these eleven years. The Court first sat in Kilkenny, where, unfortunately, had been preserved intact all the official records of the late Confederacy, —the Lists of Association among them. These were peremptory and decisive evidence against every Associate and all others found implicated in the transactions of the Supreme Council and its voluminous correspondence. After holding its first sessions in that city, it sat successively at Cork, Waterford, Dublin, and other places.

The sword, the halter, famine, the plague, and voluntary exile, had so thinned the ranks of the generation who had taken up arms under Phelim and Owen O'Neill,—that the few left were like the rare ears of corn on the harvest field, which escape the sickle of the reapers, and which the gleaners have not yet gathered. The High Court, in spite of the hearty earnestness with which its members went to work, could only find in all Ireland some two hundred persons to convict and to hang.

We have already become acquainted with John Cooke, one of these exemplary Justices, and the very soul of all these proceedings. He had brought Charles I. to the block. He condemned to death hundreds of better and truer men in Ireland. These sessions were called by the people 'Cromwell's Slaughter-Houses.' In them "no articles were pleadable . . .; and against a charge of things said to have been done twelve years before, little or no defence could be made; and the cry that was made of blood, aggravated with expressions of so much horror, and the no less daunting aspect of the Court, quite confounded the amazed prisoners, so that they came like sheep to the slaughter."*

We have the utterance of the same Mr. Justice Cooke from the bench, and quoted in the last chapter, declaring that the Government held as a rebel and a traitor every man born in Ireland since October 23, 1641.

The way was now prepared for the "Great Work," the "Work of God" in Ireland, the transplantation to Connaught of all those native-born rebels and traitors.

The Act of August 12, 1652, had pronounced the forfeiture of two-thirds of their estates against all who had borne arms against the Parliament or the Commonwealth; while those who had resided in Ireland from October 1, 1649, to March 1, 1650, and had not fought under Cromwell, or otherwise manifested their "constant good affection," were to forfeit one-third.

This was how they dealt with the Irish Proprietors. As to those who owned property of any kind to the value of ten pounds sterling, they were offered a full and free pardon. But we already know what such pardon was intended to be.

The chief enemy whom the Conquerors and the Adventurers with their Parliament had now to dispose of were the PROPRIETORS. What they aimed at and coveted above all things was the PROPERTY of the latter.

High Courts of Justice, Acts of Parliament, the Gallows, transplantation to Connaught, banishment to the Continent, slavery in the West Indies or the New England Colonies, were only means toward that darling and long-cherished end.

The two-thirds or the one-third still left to the Irish proprietor were not to be restored to him from his former estates. The same authority which confiscated a part, assumed the right to give an equivalent for it in Connaught, even though that equivalent should be cruelly and unlawfully taken from another despoiled proprietor. This method of compensation was devised and regulated by the Second Act of Parliament, of October, 1653. The Proclamation issued at Kilkenny on the 11th of the same month, was only the first step toward its execution.

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* "History of Independency."

Martial law was at once established throughout the Kingdom, in order to enable the army, who were the party most interested in this settlement, to deal promptly and summarily with every species of opposition.

The CURSE OF CROMWELL was on Ireland.

In the courts established at Athlone and Loughrea, the transplanted proprietors had to sign conveyances to the officers authorized to deliver to them assignments in Connaught, releasing the new proprietors of their estates from all claims against them. There was no alternative between Connaught and refusal, but the death of the outlaw. The ancient proprietors being thus "driven out" or hanged, the new landlords of Ireland entered into possession.

Thus was Lord Broghill's plan carried out. No wonder that they have erected to his father, Richard Boyle, and to himself so splendid a monument in St. Patrick's Protestant Cathedral in Dublin. This sacred edifice also was sacrilegiously taken from its lawful proprietors. There is not in Ireland a more fitting place for a public memorial to this father and this son,—two of the most fortunate of the bold, bad, and bloody men who fattened upon the spoils of our unfortunate country.

The Wrong Sanctioned by Charles II.

Charles II. was a fugitive from his native kingdom, when about 25,000 exiled Irish swordmen and nobles sent to the palace of St. Germain near Paris, to offer him their services in recovering his crown. He gratefully accepted what was generously offered. They followed this Stuart King to the Low Countries in fulfilment of their promise; and remained there awaiting his orders, when unforeseen events favored his return to England in 1660.

On November 30, in that same year, he published his celebrated Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland. Before we pronounce an opinion upon this royal measure, let us see what precautions the Parliament of England, and the men who ruled Ireland in their name, had taken to secure the Plunderers in the possession of their Plunder, and to cut off from all Irish Papists every avenue to justice, every earthly hope of seeing undone, even in the smallest measure, the mighty Wrong under which they were suffering.

Lord Broghill and Sir Charles Coote the Younger had been chiefly instrumental in putting down in Ireland all opposition to the restoration of the Stuarts. They had, therefore, the chief influence in the government councils there; and the men who were placed at the head of affairs were deeply interested in not permitting one little stone to be removed from the solid edifice of Iniquity which they had cemented with the blood of hundreds of thousands.

Of course, when it was reported in Ireland that the King was in the Low Countries at the head of an Irish army of from 25,000 to 30,000 men, there was joy and exultation. So, they would soon see a great army of their own fighting again for Ireland on Irish soil. This joy, and the rumors and acts of imprudence it gave rise to, were not slow in traveling to England, where everything concerning Ireland and the Irish were always sure to be exaggerated and perverted.

But when the King had actually returned, the repressed feelings of the despoiled and downtrodden burst forth in more open manifestation. The King would surely recall to Ireland the brave army so devoted to his interests. And would they, the oppressed, not get back their own again?

But Lord Broghill and Sir Charles Coote had taken such energetic measures both in the South and in the North, that the poor disarmed and isolated remnants of the Irish Catholic populations could not stir hand or foot without being instantly beaten down.

Meanwhile they were careful to prepare public opinion in England among the Royalists as well as among the alarmed Republicans, in such a manner, that the Irish Papists should be represented as threatening a new rebellion, and the King be morally forced to set his face against them.

"I hope I need say nothing of Ireland," were the King's first timid and uncertain words in his first speech in Parliament, July 27, 1660; "and that they alone shall not be without the benefit of my mercy. They have shew'd much affection to me abroad, and you will have a care of my honour."

Poor King! he seems to feel how little he can do for his best friends, when his enemies are still all but all-powerful. Let us learn from Dr. Leland by what strategy these enemies as well as his false friends defeated the weakly good intentions of the pleasure-loving King.

"In England, every rumor unfavorable to the Irish was received with peculiar avidity. Agents were sent from Ireland, who reported their conduct and designs with every offensive aggravation, so that, before the landing of the King, the Act of Indemnity was so prepared as to exclude all those who had any hand in plotting or contriving, aiding or abetting the rebellion of Ireland, by which the whole Romish party were in effect excluded. And when, by another clause, it was provided, that the Act should not extend to restore to any persons the estates disposed of by authority of any Parliament or Convention, it was with some difficulty that an exception was inserted of 'the Marquess of Ormonde and other the Protestants of Ireland.' Some other provisos were attempted, which must have utterly ruined all the old English families of this country, but they were suspended, and afterwards defeated by the Marquess." *

We must impose upon the reader's indulgence, by asking him to consider this other account from one even less impartial and just to the Catholics of Ireland than Carte:

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* "Hist. of Ireland," iv., 111.

"The Irish" (it is Wright we quote), "as they had done on so many occasions before, injured their cause by their own violence. Always sanguine in temper, they never doubted for a moment that the King would restore them to all they had lost; and impatient of delay, . . . they waited no process of law, but, even before the King had been proclaimed, many of them (?) repossessed themselves of their patrimonial lands by force, and drove out the new settlers. So early as the month of May, 1660, these turbulent proceedings had become so general, that the convention was obliged to issue, on the 20th of that month, a proclamation against them."

We find nothing in authentic history to justify the issuing of such a proclamation. It was the interest of Broghill, Coote, and their fellow conspirators to invent such accounts of risings and violent proceedings on the part of the Irish. They had to prepare public opinion in England as well as the royal mind itself for the unconditional acceptance of their scheme of indemnity and settlement. But Wright himself explains the matter.

"These outrages," he says, "were eagerly seized upon by the English, who represented them as, and perhaps thought them, the preludes to a new rebellion; and the Irish Catholics were looked upon with suspicion and treated with rigor. Agents, sent from the Protestant party, carried to England aggravated reports of their conduct and designs, *so that before the King landed,* the Act of Indemnity was so prepared as to exclude all who had had any hand, not only in plotting and contriving, but in aiding or abetting, the Irish rebellion which had commenced in 1641, and lasted under various forms during more than ten years. This amounted, in effect, to the exclusion of the whole Romish party from grace; and the feeling which dictated it was so strong, that it was with some difficulty those who framed the act would admit an exception in favor of the Marquis of Ormonde and other Protestants of Ireland. . . . On the other hand, the severe ordinances against the Irish Catholics made under the rule of the Protector and Parliament, were executed with rigor. They were not allowed to pass from one province to another; many of them, on suspicion of disaffection, were thrown into prison, their letters were intercepted; and they were forbidden to hold meetings together. On the King's arrival in London, he was immediately assailed with apprehensions of a rebellion in Ireland; and, upon representations from Parliament, he was induced to publish a Proclamation for apprehending and prosecuting of all Irish rebels, and commanding that Adventurers, soldiers, and others should not be disturbed in the possession of manors, houses, or lands forfeited by the Irish, until evicted by process of law, or till further order should be taken therein. It was evident that at present the Protestant Party had gained possession of the royal ear. . . . The Convention and their agents who attended at the English Court, anxious to secure, against all risks, the interests of the Soldiers and Adventurers, pressed for the immediate appointment of an Irish Parliament, which they knew must be composed entirely of their own friends." *

That, as Leland says, "the whole Romish party was in effect excluded" from all the benefits of this Act, will not surprise the reader, after what has been said.

"Various schemes," says Wright, "were successively proposed for satisfying these conflicting appeals, but all were found equally beset with difficulties, until at last the King adopted one drawn up by the Earl of Orrery (Lord Broghill), Sir John Clotworthy and Sir Arthur Mervyn; these men were in heart advocates of the claims of the adventurers and soldiers; and, according to their plan, the latter were to be confirmed in their possessions, while the 'innocent' or 'meritorious' Irish were to be reprised out of other lands that had been forfeited, and which, according to an estimate they had made, would be sufficient for the purpose." †

It is, therefore, an historical fact, that the men who had conspired to provoke the rebellion of 1641, who had driven every Catholic in Ireland, both of Celtic and of English race, into the ranks of the insurgents; who had devised and planned the confiscation of the

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* "Hist. of Ireland," vol. ii., pp. 119, 120.

† *Ibidem*, p. 121.

lands of the nation, were the very men who drew up this scheme of final settlement. It was drawn up *before the King landed in England.* In fact, it was like leaving in the hands of Cortes and his Captains the final adjudication of the lands of the entire Mexican Empire. It was, as if the King of Spain and the Council of the Indies, handed over to the Buccaneer Pizarro and his fellows absolute power to decree that the Incas and their people were idolaters, rebels against his Catholic Majesty, and that all their country was rightfully forfeited to the Spanish Crown, and justly divided among the conquerors.

It is, also, an unquestionable historical fact that the Irish Parliament assembled within a twelvemonth to give a legal sanction to this Act of Settlement and Indemnity, was made up almost exclusively of the men who had shared in the plunder. We have just seen that it was a part of the new Conspiracy.

This is a most important consideration; and we call the reader's attention to it.

"At length, on the 8th of May, 1661, the Irish Parliament met, after an interval of nearly twenty years. As the Soldiers and Adventurers still retained possession of all their lands, as well as of their influence in the corporate towns, nearly the whole House of Commons was devoted to their interests, and their anxiety to preserve what they held had converted by far the greater portion of their party into sticklers for the royal authority and for the Episcopal Government in the Church. Only one Catholic had been elected." And, as Lord Orrery informs the Duke of Ormonde, "there sate this day in the House of Lords but one Papist Peer."

"Both Houses"—Wright continues—"began with a declaration requiring all persons to conform to the church government and liturgy, established by law. . . . The hostility of the Parliament to the Catholics was shown on every occasion, as well as its favor to the Adventurers and Soldiers—the new possessors of estates whose titles were to be confirmed by law. The Commons, in order to prevent the reversal of outlawries and the ejectment of Adventurers or Soldiers before they were secured by a statute, petitioned the Lords Justices that the term should be adjourned and the Courts of Law for a certain period shut up. . . . A Bill had been transmitted from Ireland to England for imposing an oath of qualification on the House of Commons, by which it was intended to exclude all Roman Catholics; but it had been disapproved as unseasonable. The House now attempted to effect the purpose of this intended Act by a resolution, by which they excluded from their seats all who had not taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance; but the Lords Justices declared this to be an invasion of the Prerogative. . . . The Protestant Party became angry, and accused the Government of an unjust and dangerous partiality for Papists; and they indulged their animosity against the latter by raising and spreading abroad rumors of new plots and conspiracies to overthrow the Government, to renew the old war of massacre and extermination, and by such means to re-establish the supremacy of the Church of Rome.

"The most important measure brought forward in this Parliament was, of course, the Bill of Settlement, which was to embody in a law the King's Declaration with such alterations as might be considered requisite. . . . It has been observed that the 'new interest' was predominant in the House of Commons; and there it was the almost unanimous wish that the Law should be a mere repetition and confirmation of the King's Declaration."

Over this Bill there was a long and obstinate contest in both Houses of the Irish Parliament. But the Commons had it pretty much their own way; and then the Bill was sent to England for the King's approval. To England, therefore, went deputations from all the great parties interested in having it either modified or preserved in the form given to it in Dublin. The Adventurers and Soldiers, or the New Interest, as they were now called, were "strong at court by the sympathies of their Protestant brethren there and throughout the Kingdom, and they fortified themselves by raising a considerable sum of money to be distributed among those who could support their interests. . . . The King was disgusted with the difficulties thrown in the way of a speedy settlement, and his indolent disposition revolted at the prospect of an endless series of fruitless discussions. He declared his intention of establishing and supporting an English interest in Ireland. . . . The King became disgusted with demands which shocked his own notions of the Prerogative, and interfered with his quiet, and he lent a ready ear to the adversaries of the Catholics. These adversaries lost no opportunity of throwing odium upon the Catholic party. The country was deluged again with narratives of the Irish massacres and rumors of conspiracies to renew them. Charles, who had issued his Declaration in the belief that there were lands enough to satisfy all parties, was now sensible of his mistake, and was tormented with the difficulties that beset the Irish question. Anxious to be relieved from it as quickly as possible, and aware that some party must suffer, he resolved to sacrifice the Irish." *

The Bill was approved by the King and sent back to Ireland, where it was once more passed through both Houses. Not till the Duke of Ormonde came to Dublin, in July, 1662, as Lord Lieutenant, was the Royal Assent given to this iniquitous law, which would alone suffice to stamp with infamy the name of Charles II. It was received, Wright tells us, with no little exultation by the Protestant Party. But one can only obtain some notion of the unjust and misleading partiality of such an historian as he is, only by looking into the Bill itself, and by seeing with one's own eyes, the clauses by which it rendered it impossible to any Irish Catholic to obtain reparation or compensation from the wrongs inflicted on his creed and nation.

The burthen was thrown on the Catholics to prove their own "innocency," as a preamble toward claiming the restoration of their estates.

"No man," says Carte, "was to be restored as an innocent Papist, who at or before the cessation on September 15, 1643, was of the

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* "Hist. of Ireland," vol. ii., pp. 126, 127.

rebels' party, or enjoyed his estate, real or personal, in the rebels' quarters (except the inhabitants of Cork and Youghal that were driven into these quarters by force), or who had entered into the Roman Catholic Confederacy before the peace of 1646. Whoever at any time adhered to the Nuncio or Clergy's Party, or Papal Power, in opposition to the King's authority, or, having been excommunicated for adhering to his Majesty's authority, had afterwards owned his offence in so doing, and been thereupon relaxed from excommunication; whoever derived the title to his estate from any that died guilty of the aforesaid crimes, or pleaded the articles of the peace for his estate, or, living in the English quarters, held a correspondence with the rebels, &c., &c. Whoever came under any of these denominations was not to be deemed an 'innocent' Papist. One of these qualifications was certainly very rigorous, and the rigor of the law in many cases can hardly be distinguished from injustice. Abundance of Roman Catholics well affected to the King, and very averse to the rebellion of their countrymen, lived quietly in their own houses, within the quarters of the rebels, who out of reverence to their virtues, or favor to their religion, allowed them to do so, though they never took arms or engaged in any hostile act in opposition to his Majesty. Such of them as had offered to take shelter in Dublin, were by the Lords Justices banished thence on pain of death by public proclamation, and ordered to retire thence to their own houses in the country, where they could not help falling into the power of the rebels; and, if these suffered them to live in quiet, an equitable man, who considers the circumstances of these times, and the condition of all countries that are in a state of war, will hardly see any such iniquity in the receiving of that mercy, or in the unavoidable necessity they were under of living in their own houses, as should bring these persons a forfeiture of their estates." *

Elsewhere Carte adds a remark which is very pertinent to our present purpose: "The qualifications of innocency"—he says—"re-

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* "Life of Ormonde," ii., p. 220.

quired by these instructions (particularly that whereby living in the Irish quarters was to be deemed a proof of guilt), had been complained of as too severe; but, as notwithstanding that severity, several of the Irish had proved their innocency, their adversaries, whose interest it was to involve them all without exception in the common guilt, were desirous to add to the rigor of these qualifications, and to make the proof of nocency so easy and general, that none of that nation might be able to escape censure, or save his estate."*

Blind indeed must be the man who reads the history of Ireland from the year 1634–1662, who does not see that all the resources of intellectual skill and malicious intent in her governors were bent in bringing about such a rebellion as might involve every man born on the soil of Ireland,—every Irish Catholic, especially. The fell purpose of Wentworth was taken up, developed, and carried out with infernal ability by Richard Boyle and Adam Loftus, by William Parsons and John Borlase. Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood, were only the iron hand at the service of this Purpose incarnate in the successive Lords Justices,—till Broghill and Coote and Sir Maurice Eustace stand before us as such in the year of Grace 1660.

A Court of Claims was established for the benefit of all who wished to prove their innocency, immediately after the Bill had received the Royal Assent in July, 1662. But this Court was only to hold its session for six months, while the number of Claimants, in a Memorial presented to the Government and praying for an extension of time, is stated to be 8,000! Sir Heneage Finch, the Attorney General, admits that there were 5,000 claimants; and Leland says there were more than 3,000. We may safely say there were some 6,000 persons most anxious to be heard by the judges. And yet the Government and the Judges so managed that the Court only began its sessions in August.

"It was declared in the New Bill that the Protestants were, in the first place and especially, to be settled, and that any ambiguity was to be interpreted in the sense most favorable to their interests. It was also provided, that no Papist, who by the qualification of the former Act, had not been adjudged innocent, should at any future time be reputed innocent, or entitled to claim any lands or settlements. Thus every remaining hope of those numerous claimants whose causes had not been heard, was entirely cut off. They complained of perjury and subornation in the causes that had been tried before the Commissioners of Claims; though such wicked practices were probably not confined to one party. But their great and striking grievance was, that more than three thousand persons were condemned, without the justice granted to the vilest criminals, that of a fair and equal trial. Of this number, though many, and probably the greater part, would have been declared *nocent*, yet several cases were undoubtedly pitiable; and now, twenty only were to be restored by especial favor." *

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* "Life of Ormonde," ii., p. 263.

Poor King! The wretched slave of vice, instead of being the devoted and self-sacrificing servant of all his peoples, and of making himself an immortal name by binding up the wounds of the Monarchy,—allowed the party who had brought his father to the block to consummate in Ireland, and toward that father's most faithful subjects, the most gigantic iniquity of all time.

Of course that Court of Claims was only a sham.

The Government were not ashamed to be consistent in their infamy. Out of 4,000 Catholic claimants, only 600 were heard. The other 3,400 were never allowed another opportunity for hearing or redress.

Furthermore,—while the poor Irish Catholics were endeavoring to open the eyes of the King in London to this enormous aggravation of iniquity inflicted on them, the Lords Justices issued a proclamation ordering all those who had been transplanted into Connaught, "to return back again to the same places to which they had been respectively transplanted, and not to depart from thence without special licence," under pain of being forthwith imprisoned and placed at the discretion of the Lords Justices. Barbadoes and Jamaica still needed white slaves. And such slavery was just retribution for Irish Papists who dared to leave their confinement in Clare and Connaught, and travel to Dublin to assert their claims to property, liberty, and the right to live.

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* Leland, "Hist. of Ireland," iv. 146.

The Duke of Ormonde, whose favor at Court the Irish Catholics, unfortunately for themselves, did not or would not care to secure, while their fate was discussed in London, proposed to the King to have a Board appointed to hear their grievances, composed of the Lord Lieutenant and six members of the Privy Council, assisted by other loyal Irish gentlemen.

The English Council would not hear of it.

To have a correct idea of the magnitude of the injustice perpetrated by these proceedings, it ought to be borne in mind that by the Act of Explanation issued three years after the Act of Settlement, "explaining some doubts arising upon" the latter, it was expressly provided that no Papist who had not been adjudged innocent under the former act, should at any future time be reputed innocent or entitled to claim any lands or settlements.

The Magna Charta of the Protestants of Ireland.

Thus, the Act of Settlement which passed both Houses of the Irish Parliament in 1662, and the Act of Explanation passed to supplement it, in 1665 (and called *'the Black Act'* by the Irish), are considered to be the "Magna Charta of the Protestants of Ireland."

This novel Charter of Rights beggared all that were left of the ancient Irish Proprietors, and reduced to the most abject slavery the remnants of the laboring Irish population.

"A measure of such sweeping and appalling oppression," says Dr. Lingard, "is perhaps without a parallel in the history of civilized nations. Its injustice could not be denied. And the only apology offered in its behalf, was the stern necessity of quieting the fears and jealousies of the Cromwellian settlers, and of establishing on a permanent basis the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland."

How the Plunder was Divided.

Before turning to another part of our subject, it may be instructive to glance at a few figures which will speak more than many pages of argument to the eye of the intelligent reader. We take them from Count Murphy's book on Ireland:

GRANTED TO THE ENGLISH.

	Statute Acres	
Adventurers	787,326	
Soldiers	2,385,915	
"Forty-nine" Officers	450,380	
The Duke of York	169,431	
Duke of Ormonde and Colonel Butler	257,516	
Bishops' Augmentation	31,596	
		4,560,037

GRANTED OR DISPOSED OF TO THE IRISH.

Decrees of Innocence	1,176,520	
Provisors	491,001	
King's Letters of Restitution	46,398	
Nominees in possession	68,360	
Transplantation	541,530	
		2,323,809
Unappropriated		824,392
Total forfeited under Commonwealth		7,708,238

"The 'forty-nine' officers were those who claimed arrears for service under the King before 1649. The Duke of York received a grant of all the lands held by the regicides who had been attainted. Provisors were persons in whose favor provisos had been made in the Acts. Nominees were the Catholics named by the King to be restored to their mansion-houses, and 2,000 acres contiguous. Those restored by the King's letters were called Letterees. 'Transplantation' refers to the Catholics whom Cromwell forced from their own lands to settle in Connaught.

"At this time, the profitable lands of Ireland were estimated at about 12,500,000 statute acres (being two-thirds of the whole, which were estimated at 19,000,000). About 7,000,000 more remained. These were deemed unprofitable; but, even so, large tracts of these lands were taken by the Soldiers and Adventurers, in addition to the lots of profitable land they severally received in the distribution. The whole property of the country now stood as follows:—

	Statute Acres
"Granted to English Protestants, of profitable lands, forfeited under the Commonwealth	4,560,037
Previously possessed by English Colonists of the Protestant Faith and the Church, profitable land	3,900,000[*]
Granted or disposed of to the Irish, profitable land .	2,323,809
Previously possessed by "Good Affection" men, Irish	600,000
Remaining still unappropriated, being part of towns, or possessed by English or Irish without titles, or doubtful, of profitable land . . . , .	824,391
	12,208,237"[†]

It will hardly be believed, that while both the Irish Parliament and the Court of Claims were discussing the titles of so many thousands of persons,—the very highest in the land, that "the whole House of Commons with the Speaker at their head, were profligate enough to wait on the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Ormonde, praying that *all the examinations and depositions taken at any time re-*

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[*] Account published by the Cromwellian proprietors.

[†] Count Murphy here adds this interesting note: "I have very carefully drawn up this statement, chiefly from the Grace manuscript, quoted by Dr. Lingard, and the Report of the Commissioners to the English House of Commons, on Dec. 15, 1699. I find it, to a great extent, confirmed by the estimate of Sir William Petty ('Political Anatomy of Ireland,' p. 302). He says: 'Of the whole 7,500,000 plantation acres of good land, the English and Protestants and Church have this Christmas (1672), 5,140,000,' equal to 8,352,500 statute acres, 'and the Irish have near half as much.'"—J. N. Murphy, "Ireland Industrial, Political, and Social," pp. 314, 315.

specting the rebellion, all the records of the courts, and all books, rolls, and writings remaining in any office, should be received as proofs of the 'nocency' (guilt) of the parties implicated, and be a bar to their claims. This would include all the fabulous tales, of which I have given so many specimens.

"With what abhorrence must every honest mind regard that piratical body, who were so lost to all sense of decency and common honesty as to pray that those examinations and depositions on which above 1,000 indictments were found in two days;—that of Dean Maxwell, who swore to the ghosts screaming for revenge, and to the murder of thousands on hearsay;—that of Captain Stratford, who swore to the murder of hundreds, not one of which he pretended to have seen;—and so many others equally destitute of credibility; that these, I say, should be received as evidence to bar honest men of their estates?

"I have made very few, scarcely any quotations from Roman Catholic writers—and none but what were corroborated by Protestant authority. I now present one from a work of great merit, 'Ireland's Case briefly Stated,' which is a fair sample of the atrocious injustice perpetrated on the Irish;—but, however vile, it cannot surprise us after the various details of the iniquitous system pursued on this occasion,—and the rules laid down for establishing the nocency of the claimants.

"'Mr. Francis Betagh of Moynalty, whose ancestors for seven or eight hundred years together, were in possession of a considerable estate in the county Meath, was but nine years of age in October, 1641. Yet he was sworn in the Court of Claims to have been then in actual rebellion, at the head of a foot company, plundering and stripping the Protestants; and that by two of the meanest scoundrels of the whole kingdom hired for the purpose, whereof one was then and and there proved not to have been three years old at the time of that insurrection, and the other no way qualified to be believed, when the gentry of the whole county declared and testified the contrary. Nevertheless, upon the bare oaths of these fellows, the gentleman was adjudged 'nocent' by the court; and although the perjury was afterwards more fully detected, insomuch that Sir Richard Rainsford, Chief Commissioner or Judge of that Court, when the Marchioness of Antrim expostulated the matter with him, plainly acknowledged of it to herself, to the now Earl of Limerick, and to other persons of quality; yet no redress could be had for the gentleman, nor any remedy to be expected, while the enchantment of the Act of Settlement was in force.'"

We have seen Usher and the most influential of his associates favoring, under Strafford's administration, the introduction of Presbyterian doctrines and forms, and thus preparing the way for the spread of the Covenanters' tenets and practice both in Church and in State.

So powerful were the followers of the Covenant in the three Kingdoms, that Charles II., in the Convention of Breda, swore to observe the Covenant, as an indispensable condition toward returning to England and regaining his crown. In Ireland the men who were most influential and energetic in having the King accepted and proclaimed, were men who had been brought up and had always lived as Puritans, Broghill, and Coote, and Sir John Clotworthy. And yet Puritanism, when the first Irish Parliament assembled, and the first breezes of royal favor began to blow over the land, seemed to recede and retire to the wilderness, like mists near the foot-hills of the Apennines, rolling up from the plains with the first beams of morning, and rushing up through every gorge and ravine toward the distant mountains.

The Protestant Episcopal Church stood forth suddenly in all her glory and prepotency, as if no Covenant oath had ever pledged the faithful to extirpate Prelacy, Popery, and Idolatry.

"The Irish Laud," as Cromwell had called Bramhall, came back to Ireland with Ormonde, as Archbishop of Armagh. Twelve vacant bishopricks were filled, and the twelve new prelates,—as if they were the successors of the Twelve Apostles about to begin anew the conversion of Ireland,—were solemnly consecrated in St. Patrick's Cathedral, where, a few years before, Cromwell had stabled the horses of his conquering troopers. It was a striking and memorable pageant, that rehabilitation of the Church by Law Established.

King Charles, not satisfied with restoring to it the 300,000 acres of broad rich lands granted by the English Henry and Elizabeth, added some 31,000 more. It was a large endowment, and a goodly staff of shepherds for so small a flock as that Church could then muster in Ireland. The entire population, after the awful massacres, the plague, the famine, and the expulsions, of poor exhausted Ireland, was then 1,100,000. Of these 800,000 were, confessedly, Catholics; 100,000 were Presbyterians; 100,000 more were claimed by Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers; the remaining 100,000 constituted the charge of Archbishop Bramhall and his fellow-laborers. Theirs were the Churches, the Glebe Houses, most of the Monasteries, and all the lands with which our Celtic forefathers, in the days of tribal government, had endowed the clergy and the religious institutions belonging to each tribe or Sept. Kings, great Irish chiefs, and the Anglo-Norman nobles, at a later period, had added to these gifts, and adorned the land with many a noble monastic and ecclesiastical structure. All that now belonged to the "Irish Laud" and his compeers.

And what had the church of the 800,000,—the original and rightful owner of all this property?

Not one acre or foot of land in all Ireland from the centre to the circumference; not one fragment of ruined wall of church or monastery or monastic school belonged to her banned bishops, priests, and monks. Not even the space of earth in her ancient and teeming cemeteries, sufficient to receive in death the body of any one of her hunted pastors or of their persecuted flock, could be called their own by priests or by people. The priest had not even the liberty to pronounce the last blessing over the dying or to sprinkle with holy water the grave of the dead.

The Church of the 800,000 had not even the right to live in Ireland.

And did the restored Church by Law Established use her recovered wealth and authority with a generous forbearance?——

Why should I stop to answer, when I must hasten to conclude this mighty argument?

Of the political blunders committed by the few Catholics whom, in after years, Charles II. and his brother, James II., entrusted with office in any department of the administration, in the army and navy, we need say nothing. These few favored ones were taken from among the English families who had most suffered for the Stuarts. The Celtic Irish were not responsible for their misdeeds or mistakes. The men who had been deputed, in the first days of the Restoration, to plead the cause of the Irish proprietors in Westminster and Whitehall, were men of English stock, men, too, who had made themselves hateful to the Irish Insurgents in the day of their bitterest struggle, —Sir Nicholas Plunket, the brother of the Friar of that name, mentioned in a preceding chapter, and Richard Talbot. These men cared but little to have their names or their interests in any way identified with those of the Celtic 800,000. Peter Talbot, brother of Richard, was appointed Catholic Archbishop of Dublin; and showed a zeal and a precipitancy that did the cause of religion more harm than good. His brother was as intemperate and untimely in urging the reconsideration of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation when the only result could be an increase of violence toward the mass of Irish Catholics. The abrogation of these acts, in Richard Talbot's mind, would only benefit the Anglo-Irish lords and gentry; just as the untimely display made by Archbishop Talbot under the Lord-Lieutenancy of Berkeley, only tended to restore the mere splendors of Catholic worship in Dublin, while in the provinces the Bishops and Priests were content to be free to minister to the faithful in obscurity and peace. As before the Reformation, so after it, the advocacy of the religious and temporal interests of the Celtic masses were seldom successful or safe, if entrusted to the hands of persons not of their own race.

All the ill-concerted attempts to obtain from England any measure of redress or relief only culminated in some new and violent storm of English public opinion, in calling forth a host of knaves and fanatics who spread abroad rumors of plots and conspiracies. These produced the passage of the Test-Oath Bill, and Titus Oates.

Then as now, the men and parties who lived on the spoils of the persecuted Catholics, or preserved their places and influence by promoting the hatred of class against class and race against race,—hesitated at the committing of no crime to excite popular frenzy, to render the employment of coercion necessary, or kindle into life the smouldering embers of religious persecution.

The Titus Oates plot brought back to Ireland a man whose treacherous policy had done more mischief to the cause of Irish nationality than the sword of Cromwell,—the Duke of Ormonde, who had been the bane of the Confederation of Kilkenny.

On his arrival in Ireland edicts were published which were worthy of the rule of the Roundheads. The Catholics were disarmed. All ministers of the Catholic Church were given two months to leave the Kingdom, after which a price should be set on their heads. Again the Catholic institutions which had begun to rise above the ground, were seized or destroyed by the government. Catholics were ordered to quit all garrisoned and market-towns; and markets were to be held outside the walls, so that Papists might have no chance or pretext for entering them.

Of the existence of the Plot revealed and contrived by Oates the Duke of Ormonde is well known to have disbelieved the existence. But his fear of public opinion induced him to go with the populace in their wild course of revenge and repression.

Peter Talbot, who was mortally ill in the house of his brother near Dublin, was treated as a conspirator, and by order of the Lord Lieutenant brought a prisoner to Dublin Castle where he died, a confessor of the Faith, and an illustrious victim to Irish officialism. Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh, whose gentle virtues and unconspiring temper Ormonde was familiar with, and of whose innocence Ormonde never entertained the slightest doubt, was also seized, and sent a prisoner to London, where an infamous judge, on the testimony of men the vilest and most perjured, condemned the Prelate to be hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn, a sentence which was executed July 1, 1681.

Bitterly did Irish Catholics pay for the supposed sympathy of Charles II., and for the known Catholicity of his brother, the Duke of York.

It was but natural, when James II. ascended the throne, that he should desire to lighten the burthen laid on the professors of his own faith. It was equally so, that in Ireland the persecuted and disfranchised Catholics should look for redress to a Catholic King. Unhappily, historians in treating of this calamitous reign make the Catholic body and their religion responsible for the political blunders and moral shortcomings of the Sovereign, as well as for the rashness, the unwisdom, and the utter impolicy of the acts of his subordinates.

The 800,000 Irish Catholics, the Celtic majority of them in particular, never acknowledged Sir Richard Talbot as their agent, their representative, their spokesman, either at home or abroad, either in religious, political, or personal matters. And when Sir Richard Talbot, become Earl of Tyrconnel, was appointed successively Commander-in-Chief of the royal forces in Ireland, and Lord-Lieutenant, his real or imputed official faults should not be assumed to be those of the downtrodden people whose wrongs he so strongly resented.

That James did not want to unsettle what had been done by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, we know from his instructions given to Lord Clarendon when appointed Viceroy in Ireland. This country the King held to have been conquered by Cromwell at least, if by no other before him. The English Ascendancy and the Act of Settlement were to be considered as accomplished facts, not to be interfered with. But among the Catholic majority of Irishmen, there were meritorious servants of his royal father and brother, who had been wrongfully dispossessed of their property: these were to be righted. The Catholic religion must be freely exercised. The various departments of the public service must be open to Catholics as well as to Protestants. Religion must not be a disqualification toward the enjoyment of civil and political equality.

Clarendon raised to the judicial bench three Catholic lawyers; others were appointed members of the Privy Council; others again were called to fill the offices of sheriff and magistrate; and a relief fund of £2,190 a year was created for the twelve Catholic bishops.

Tyrconnel, Commander of the Forces, acted with his characteristic impetuosity, displacing Protestant officers, and giving their commands to Catholics. All this, though but a small measure of justice toward the immense majority of a nation, was ill-judged, and precipitate.

When Tyrconnel succeeded Clarendon as Viceroy (1687–89), he openly advocated the repeal of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. The Protestant Settlers took alarm and fled to the Low Countries, where they, together with the discontents from England, urged upon the King's nephew, William of Orange, to take the lead of the revolt or revolution which was already ripe in both England and Ireland. He was not slow in accepting.

The rest is well known.

The Final Struggle between the "Old" and the "New" English Interests.

Prominent as religion is in the revolution of 1689, there can be no doubt in the mind of any one who has read beneath the surface of things, that the question of religion, in Ireland at any rate, was but secondary. The impelling force in that country was the desire on the part of the threatened Adventurers and Soldiers to retain their lands. The advancement of Catholics to a share of public office, and the modification of the charters in corporate towns admitting Catholics to burgess rights and municipal honors, might have, at a later period, and among another generation, been regarded with some degree of equanimity. As Tyrconnel, however, agitated the question of restoring the land to its original owners, the religious question became at once a vital social and political one.

The struggle, nevertheless, between the Old and the New English Interests, was made manifest in the first Irish Parliament convened by James himself, when he landed in Ireland.

In the House of Lords sat six new peers created by James, one only of whom, Justin Mac Carthy, Viscount Mountcashel, bore a Celtic name. His brother, however, Lord Clancarthy, was a peer of the old creation. In the House of Commons, of two hundred and thirty-two members returned, one hundred and sixty-five were of Anglo-Irish stock, and sixty-seven of Celtic extraction. The Parliament was, to all intents and purposes, Anglo-Irish. In it the Old English Interest, representing the mass of proprietors dispossessed by the Cromwellian Settlement, endeavored to repeal the legislation which had robbed them of their own property. The King, the lawful King of England and Ireland, was present in Dublin. The laws passed regarding religion were strikingly moderate and liberal as compared with the legislation of the Protestant Ascendancy. The Act passed repealing the land-settlement of 1662–1665, was, everything considered, not more objectionable than the Acts it proposed to reverse.

The misfortune of men in their position is to act as if they could count on the certainty of no future change. They hasten to build on the quicksands which the retreating tide has left bare; and seem never to suspect that the rising tide may or will certainly overflow their structure, and displace every stone in its foundations with the sands that bear them.

Here we have English against English, the defeated Old Interest has resolved to be even with the New. The English Parliament of 1652–53 had accounted as rebels not only the Irish Confederates but all who in Ireland had borne arms for the King. This view had been confirmed by the Irish Parliament of 1662–65. It was a bad precedent; and now in 1689 the Anglo-Irish majority copy this precedent, and pass an act of Attainder against all who support the cause of William of Orange. A list of two thousand four hundred and forty-five names was made out, comprising two archbishops and seven bishops, sixty-four temporal peers, eighty-three clergymen, and two thousand two hundred and eighty-nine other persons of both sexes down to tradesmen. They did not bear in mind that there would be or could be a turning of the tide.

The contest in Ireland was a fierce one, complicated once more by unappeasable passions,—those of property, religion, and race. William's army counted recruits from every part of Europe, men who had to complain of Catholic governments, and who came to help the Protestant English and Scotch to avenge the cause of the Pure Gospel, the blood of Protestants shed in 1641, and in the fresh massacres attributed to the Irish; men who would perhaps accept as their reward a share of the lands to be forfeited by the defeated Catholics.* In the north of Ireland the dreadful scenes of the late war were renewed. Derry was relieved by Kirke; and, at Newtown-Butler, the royal forces under Berwick were defeated by the Enniskilleners, who gave no quarter and pitilessly slaughtered 2,000 men. Then came Schomberg with his recruits. And James, who had not in his composition a particle of the heroic, fled from Ireland to France, leaving the Irish Catholics to their fate.

The Celts, who having, this time, a King of their own and come to fight at their head, hailed with incredible enthusiasm this unhoped-for opportunity for restoring their idealized and worshiped nationality, flocked to the royal standard in large numbers. In the best of times, and when the Island was all their own, our Celtic forefathers accustomed themselves to a life in the open air, which with their simple and wholesome diet, secured to them that strength of body, that prodigious agility and endurance, described by Rinuccini and his Secretary. The generation of Celts who had grown up since their day, had been bred to hardship such as none other had ever endured in that land. The young men were left nothing to admire but the memory of Erin's patriotic dead, the feats of the Tories who still defied all Governments in their wild life of independence,—the warlike renown of their brethren and kinsmen in France, Austria, and Spain.

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* "Foreign mercenaries—Danes, Swedes, Dutch, Swiss, Fins, Brandenburgers, French Huguenots—the Protestant Churches of Northern Europe come to meet the Roman Catholics in an Irish Armageddon."—WALPOLE, "Kingdom of Ireland."

Unarmed and half-clad, the descendants of Swordmen and Woodkerne hastened to answer the call to arms. And from abroad came the veteran officers and soldiers of Owen O'Neill and the Confederates. Oh! the happiness to fight together on Irish soil for all that Irish nationality most cherishes, the freedom of religion, and the freeing of the country from the domination of the Saxon. "Before long fifty regiments were enrolled. Men seemed to start out of the ground; but food, clothing, and munitions of war were not so speedily forthcoming. The French officers who had come over with the King, were astonished at the destitution that everywhere prevailed. There was no bread to be had; the soldiers were living on horse flesh; their pay was a penny a day. Half armed with pikes and muskets unfit for use, sometimes bareheaded and barefooted, equipped in ragged regimentals, they were ill-prepared to meet in the field the well-fed, well-armed troops of different nationalities, brilliant in their new uniform, which were mustering in the North for service under William of Orange. It was the forlorn hope marching out once more. Victory was impossible under such circumstances, even to those 'very great scorners of death,' who defended the Bridge of Athlone, and who, when cannon balls were served to them at Anghrim, where musket bullets were required, tore the buttons from their coats and fired them with the ramrods of their guns in the faces of their assailants." *

Beaten at the Boyne, and deserted by the King, who, a coward himself, accused the Irish of cowardice, the untrained Irish bands did not forget what was due to themselves. They had fought for James, to be sure; but they had chiefly fought for Ireland. Had they been commanded by a prince of the genius and firmness of character of William, the issue might have been a very different one. We remember the words of Sarsfield to his English adversaries: "Change kings, and we will fight you again."

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* Mrs. Atkinson, "Life of Mary Aikenhead," Introd., 23-24.

They fought magnificently behind the walls of Limerick under that same Patrick Sarsfield, "even the women flinging stones and broken bottles in the hottest of the fight." William, baffled then, had his revenge before long. Be it recorded to his honor that he wished to spare the nation any more bloodshed, offered the Catholics the free exercise of their religion, half the churches in the Kingdom, and one-half of their ancient possessions. It was a promise which no English King could make good. William's power lay in being the armed chief of the New English Interest. The men who supported him and fought for him, would have deserted him, fought against him, and driven him from the three Kingdoms, the moment he began to compromise with the Catholics or to touch the domination of the Protestant Ascendancy, or to threaten the unsettlement of the Acts of 1662–65.

The Irish knew that, and made no answer; and besides they were again deceived by the hopes of French aid. The French aid came with St. Ruth, and proved more of a curse than a blessing. The fatal battle of Anghrim followed, and was lost by the Irish. No quarter was given them in the flight from the battle-field. Seven thousand stripped corpses whitened the plain for miles in every direction.

Then fell Limerick, and William had his revenge upon the defenders. Not an unsoldierly or unkingly revenge, however: he granted fair terms to the besieged, and that these terms were not kept, was not his crime, but that of the New English Interest.

Limerick capitulated, and the Treaty which bears that name was signed, on October 3, 1691. It consisted of two sets of articles, the military and the civil. The former permitted all officers and soldiers, as well as "rapparees or volunteers," in the Irish quarters to embark with their families, household goods, plate and jewels for any place beyond the seas, the English government providing free transportation.

The civil articles, signed by Sarsfield and the Lords Justices, stipulated such liberty for the Catholic religion as the Irish laws permitted and as Catholics enjoyed under Charles II.; the King and Queen promising to procure from the Irish Parliament further security for the exercise of that religion. The inhabitants of Limerick and of other garrisoned towns still held by the Irish, all officers then in arms under a royal commission, and all the "protected" in the various counties held by King James' troops were to be maintained in the possession of all their rightful property, movable and immovable, held by them in the reign of Charles II. The people were to be free to follow their trades and avocations. And a general pardon was to be extended to all who should take the oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns.

"Although the King," says Count Murphy, "appears to have been well disposed at first to keep faith in the matter, he did not attempt to control the action of the Parliament of England therein; and, accordingly, the treaty was shamefully violated in these particulars."

And yet William confirmed the Treaty by Letters Patent!

"Scarcely had the Articles of Limerick been signed," says the historian Wright, "when they became the subject of contention and discontent. The Protestant Party lamented the opportunity lost of entirely crushing the Irish Papists; and many were disappointed that a part of the spoils to be furnished by confiscation was given up."

Before the month had elapsed in which the Treaty was signed, the English Parliament abrogated the law about oaths of allegiance in Ireland, imposing a new Test Oath which excluded Catholics from either House of the Legislature.

This was rigorously enforced in Ireland in 1692.

At the same time all superior officers in the army were required to dismiss from their respective commands all Papists. Then, in Ireland, followed proclamations disarming the Catholics and offering rewards to all who should discover arms in their homes. There was no need of such rigors.

Famine was again abroad in Ireland. "There have died in that kingdom," says Story, "since first the Irish began to play their mad pranks, of one sort or another, at least 100,000, young and old, besides treble the number that are ruined and undone."

The defeated Irish had enough to do to resign themselves to the further humiliation and loss of hope entailed by the issue of the war, not to plot new risings or conspiracies. The greater religious freedom promised them by the Treaty of Limerick, proved to be only a mirage in the desert. All over the island they were helplessly in the hands of their enemies. The burthen of oppression, instead of being lightened, was intolerably aggravated.

In 1695, the Irish Parliament, exclusively composed of representatives of the New Interest, undertook to ratify the Treaty in their own way, so modifying, mutilating and perverting the stipulations favorable to the Catholics,—that the Bill embodying the articles was a mockery of that confirmed by the King's letters-patent.

The Lord Deputy Capel in opening the Parliament "reminded them of the great obligations under which they lay towards their Protestant Monarch; how he had come in person to assist them, had fought their battles, and, with the risk of his own life, restored them to their religion and estates. He told them that the King now called them together in Parliament in order that *by reasonable and necessary laws* they might prevent the like dangers in time to come, and secure themselves and their posterity on the surest foundations. . . . Lord Capel's promise of extraordinary security," Wright continues, "to be derived from some of the bills recommended to them, was, no doubt, an allusion to the new Penal Statutes against the Catholics, of which several very harsh ones were passed within a short space of time. Some of these were: an Act to restrain foreign education; an Act for the better securing the Government by disarming Papists; an Act for banishing all Papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all Regulars of the Popish Clergy out of the Kingdom; an Act to prevent Protestants intermarrying with Papists; and an Act to prevent Papists being Solicitors. Some of these Acts were contrary to the letter, as well as to the spirit, of the Treaty of Limerick, which, nevertheless, was confirmed by this same Parliament." *

In the Parliament of 1697, further acts were passed which were in open violation of the Treaty, such as several bills for protecting and strengthening the Protestant Interest, and securing the forfeited estates, and repressing the Papists. It also passed the famous Rapparee Act, under cover of which such atrocious persecution was afterward exercised on the rural Catholic population.

Again in September, 1698, the legislative measures enacted as precautions against Popery, were still more formal violations of the treaty obligations, while they paved the way to the Penal Laws to prevent the Spread of Popery. "Their first act was to confirm the estates and possessions held and enjoyed under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. They next proceeded to prepare a bill for encouragement of plantations and improvements. Others were designed to prevent the estates of Protestants from coming to Papists, and to encourage persons to turn Protestants."

It was all to strengthen and increase the New Interest, which, of course, was the Protestant Ascendancy allied with the Cromwellian Proprietors.

But let us see how the relative conditions of both Catholic and Protestant landholders then stood.

"We have seen," says Count Murphy, "that, by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, 2,323,809 statute acres of profitable lands were granted or disposed of to the Irish, they having 600,000 previously in their possession. Of these lands, 1,060,792 plantation acres, equal to 1,723,787 statute acres, were escheated under William. . . . This forfeiture reduced the property of the Catholic Irish to 1,240,022 acres of profitable land. William restored to persons whom he pardoned by special favor, 125,000; and the Court of Claims restored to Catholic proprietors 388,500, making the total possessed by the Irish Catholics only 1,753,522 statute acres. *So much* for the promise to confirm the Irish in their possessions!

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* "Hist. of Ireland," vol. ii., pp. 273, 274.

"The number of Irish outlawed by William 'on account of the late rebellion,' since Feb. 13, 1688, were 3,921, whereas there were only fifty-seven persons outlawed by him in England. Their outlawry, notwithstanding the royal promise in the Treaty of Limerick, remained unreversed, and they lost their estates for ever!

"This was the last of the confiscations, the final settlement if we may so call it, of the property of Ireland. Of the 12,500,000 statute acres of profitable land in the island, little more than 1,750,000 now remained in the hands of Irish Catholics; considerably over 10,000,000 belonged to the English and Protestants." *

King William was very liberal in bestowing enormous grants of the lands escheated to the Crown to the men who had aided him in his Irish wars and to other favorites. Lord Romney got 49,517 acres; Keppel, Earl of Albemarle, 108,633 acres; William Bentink, heir to the Duke of Portland, 135,820 acres; Guikle, Earl of Athlone, 26,480 acres; Rouvigny, Earl of Galway, 36,148 acres; and 95,649 acres to a lady favorite, the Countess of Orkney.

Eight years after the war was concluded the English Parliament, offended with the King, ordered an inquiry into this division of the spoils, reconfiscated the whole of the forfeited Irish lands, made it over to thirteen trustees and had it sold at auction for the benefit of the State. † "So wholesale and complete had been the transfer of the land," says Walpole, "from the Roman Catholic proprietors to the Protestants, that at the beginning of the 18th century, when the era of summary confiscation by forfeiture may be said to close, the former were the owners of less than one-seventh of the whole area of Ireland." ‡

It was a pitiful spectacle which Ireland beheld after the fall of Limerick. The massacres which had taken place at Newtown-Butler and Athlone, told Irishmen all too plainly what their bravest, even on the battle-field, in honorable warfare under the banner of their law-

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* "Ireland Industrial," &c., pp. 317, 318.

† English Statutes, 11 and 12 Will. III., c. 2.

‡ "Kingdom of Ireland," p. 329.

ful King, might expect from enemies, to whom no law, no principle seemed sacred in dealing with Catholics, with Irish Catholics especially. If no quarter was to be expected for the soldier in defeat, what pity would be shown to the disarmed, the defenceless?

The struggle ended, 3,000 Irish soldiers were induced, most unhappily for themselves, as it afterwards proved, to enlist in the service of King William. 20,000 with their officers set sail for France, some on board the French fleet, which had arrived too late to save Limerick; some, with Sarsfield, sailed from Cork; the English Government sent over the rest to the Continent. Woful was the parting of husbands and parents from wives and families, and the departure of all from the land which the very extremity of ill-fortune only rendered more dear to these brave, true hearts. Then was formed in France that "Irish Brigade" of 5,000 men who made their name immortal on so many battle-fields. Why wonder that the very name of France is almost as dear to Irishmen as that of their native land, when it is remembered that 450,000 died fighting for the Kingdom of St. Louis between 1691 and 1745?

So fared it with some only of the men of Ireland under the murderous regime inaugurated in 1691 by the New English Interest in Ireland.

And the men who remained at home? There were and could be but comparatively few of the young and able-bodied left after all these disasters, all that awful destruction of human life, which we have only glanced at, but which authentic history details.

II.

THE PROTESTANT ASCENDANCY AND THE LAND QUESTION (1698–1798).

1. *The Penal Laws.*

THERE would be very little benefit to the reader from a recital of all the legislative enactments devised, from 1692 to 1727, to complete the absolute outlawry of Irish Catholics on their own native soil,—or, to state the case more exactly and comprehensively, *to outlaw the Irish Nation in Ireland.* So far as such a thing could be done, the legislators did it effectively, and they were zealously assisted, in the execution of their laws, by the entire English Colony in Ireland, churchmen and laymen.

It has been said of this Penal Code: "It was a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance; and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man." * This was said by Edmund Burke. Elsewhere he said of that Code: "To render men patient under a deprivation of all the rights of human nature, everything which could give them a knowledge or feeling of those rights was rationally forbidden. To render humanity fit to be insulted, it was fit that it should be degraded." †

This process of degradation was most thorough. As we are chiefly concerned, in this part of our case, with the relations which the Penal Laws established between the masses of the Irish People and the Land, we omit going into the analysis of that portion of the Code which deprived the Irishman of his religious and political freedom. In 1704, an Act was passed providing, that any person who perverted a Protestant should be guilty of *præmunire,* that is, would incur the penalties of treason; and any one who sent an infant (a person under age), without licence, to be educated beyond the seas, would be disabled from suing in law or equity, from being guardian, executor, or administrator, from taking a legacy or deed of gift, from bearing office; and moreover, such person would forfeit for life all goods and lands.

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* "Works of Edmund Burke," vol. iii., p. 495.

† *Ibidem*, p. 438.

This, of course, aimed at watching the conscientious Catholic at every turn, profiting by his performance of what he considered to be his most sacred duties, to take from him not only whatever was left him of his civil rights, but every shred of his landed property.

If the son of a Catholic father chose to conform to the Established Church, any court might appoint a Protestant guardian to such a child, and make an order for his maintenance and education from his father's estate. No Papist could be even his own son's guardian under a penalty of £500.

When a Catholic's eldest son thus turned Protestant, and the father held his land in fee, the son, *ipso facto,* became the tenant in tail of the paternal estate, and the father was only a tenant for life.*

In 1775, when the American war compelled the Government to relax somewhat of their intolerable rigor toward the Irish Catholics, the latter addressed a remonstrance to George III. on the baneful effects of this last statute. "By the laws now in force in this Kingdom," they say, "a son, however undutiful or profligate, shall not merely by the merit of conforming to the established religion deprive the Roman Catholic father of that free and full possession of his estate, that power to mortgage, or otherwise dispose of it, as the exigencies of his affairs may require; but shall himself have full liberty immediately to mortgage or otherwise alienate the reversion of that estate from his family for ever;—a regulation by which a father, contrary to the order of nature, is put under the power of his son, and through which an early dissoluteness is not only suffered but encouraged, by giving a pernicious privilege, the frequent use of which has broken the hearts of many deserving parents, and entailed poverty and despair on some of the most ancient and opulent families in this Kingdom."*

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* 2 Anne, c. 6. "Irish Statutes," vol. iv., p. 14.

"Every Papist was to be disabled from purchasing land, or holding any mortgage on land; and even from taking a lease of more than thirty-one years; nor could he hold such a lease, unless a rent was paid by him of full two-thirds the annual value.

"No Papist after February 1, 1703, unless he should conform within six months, should be capable of taking any estate by descent, devise, gift, remainder, or trust. But such estate should during his life, or till his apostasy, pass at once to the next Protestant heir. Advowsons belonging to Papists vested in the Crown until the owners should conform.

"It was also provided that no Papist should vote at an election without taking the oaths.

"No person should hold office, civil or military, without taking the oaths and subscribing to the declaration against transubstantiation, and receiving the sacrament on Sunday in the Church.

"No Papist was in future to take up his residence in Galway or Limerick, and those now inhabiting were to give security for their good behavior. . . .

"This searching statute was still evaded by the ingenuity of the legal profession, by the devotion of friends, and the straining of the conscience by a pretended conforming. Accordingly the Statute-book was again amended; and a further appeal made to the self-interest of the family circle and the outside public, to ruin the Roman Catholic owners of land." *

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* Quoted by Count Murphy in his "Ireland," p. 322.

Such was the celebrated Act of 2 Anne, c. 6.

Six years later, in 1709, a second Act was passed to make this process of confiscation more effective still.

"All securities by mortgage, judgment, or otherwise, to cover a lease or conveyance to a Catholic, contrary to the above enactment, were declared void, as to such Catholic or any purchaser in trust for him, and the lands and such securities might be sued for by any Protestant, in law or equity, who, on proof, should obtain verdict, and be put in possession of the lands and securities.

"So that if a Catholic purchased an estate for a term of more than thirty-one years, or subject to a rent, to be by him paid, of less than two-thirds of the improved annual value at the time of sale, any discoverer (that is, common informer), being a Protestant, might claim the said estate and all collateral securities connected therewith, and should, on proof, be put in possession thereof, by a decree of the judges of any of her Majesty's courts of law!" †

"It was made lawful for any common informer to prefer a bill in Chancery to compel any person to discover any secret trusts which had been created in favor of Papists. Any issues of fact were to be tried by a jury of known Protestants, and upon a decree in his favor he was at once entitled to the lands affected by the trust.

"No Papist was thenceforth to be capable of taking an annuity chargeable on land." ‡

"A Protestant woman with any estate or interest in lands, or £500 personal estate or more, marrying a Catholic, he was declared incapable of holding such estate or interest, which should thereupon go to the next of kin who was a Protestant; and the said Protestant next of kin might sue for and recover the same, as if legally entitled to the same, as heir to such woman so marrying, who, to that purpose, should be deemed dead in law.

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* "The Kingdom of Ireland," pp. 339, 340.

† "Ireland Industrial," &c., p. 323.

‡ "The Kingdom of Ireland," p. 341.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

FROM THE PORTRAIT BY J HAVERTY R.H.A

"Such woman and her husband were declared incapable of being heir, executor, administrator, or guardian to any Protestant. So where a Protestant woman married a Catholic, she was deprived of the right of guardianship to her own son, being a Protestant, and that son was offered a strong inducement at any time to sue his parents for the estate, to dispossess them, and enter on the enjoyment of it himself!

"Any Protestant marrying a Popish wife was deemed a Papist or popish recreant, and was declared for ever afterwards disabled and incapable of being heir, executor, administrator or guardian to any person or persons whatever, and also disabled to sit in Parliament, or bear office or employment.

"The penal laws were commonly called Laws of Discovery; for, as we have just seen, they were based on a principle which encouraged the wife or child to discover against the husband or parent, the layman against his clergyman, the friend against his friend, the servant against his master; the reward of the discoverer being that he received a large portion of the fine inflicted or the whole of the property confiscated. What system could have been devised more debasing and more demoralizing, at the same time that it was most ably planned to meet the odious ends intended! . . .

"A melancholy illustration of the working of the penal laws is afforded by the fate of Arthur O'Leary, 'the outlaw,' whose tomb may be seen in the venerable abbey of Kilcrea, in the county of Cork, about twelve miles west of the city. The inscription is as follows:

Lo! Arthur Leary, generous, handsome, brave,
Slain in his bloom, fills this untimely grave.

DIED MAY 4th, 1773, AGED 26 YEARS.

Mr. O'Leary was a gentleman of considerable personal property, but being a Catholic, he could hold no real estate. He had been an officer in the Hungarian army, and was married to a daughter of Daniel O'Connell of Derrynane Abbey, grandfather of the Liberator.

We are told by the local historian that on his becoming resident in Ireland his influence over the peasantry of his old patrimonial district excited the jealousy of Mr. M—, one of its landed proprietors—a jealousy increased in consequence of one of his horses having won a race against a horse of Mr. M—'s. This led to a quarrel. Mr. M—availed himself of the oppressive laws then existing against the Catholics, and attempted a legalized robbery, by publicly claiming from O'Leary, after the race, the horse which had won it—tendering to him the price, five guineas, awarded for a Papist's horse. O'Leary refused compliance, saying 'he would surrender him only with his life.' A scuffle ensued, and O'Leary was glad to escape by flight. Meanwhile, by an extraordinary process, he was proclaimed by two magistrates an outlaw, on the spot; and on his return home in the evening, he was shot dead at Carriganimy, by soldiers who were placed in ambuscade to intercept him. The penal laws followed him in death. Interments within monastic grounds were then prohibited, and O'Leary was buried in a field outside the abbey, where the body lay for several years." *

Mr. Walpole sums up the spirit and effects of this abominable legislation in the following words:

"At the commencement of Queen Anne's reign, it was found that, like every other severe and unjust law, the penal Acts were largely evaded; and the 'Protestant Ascendancy' believed that the mischief which they sought to counteract, could be overcome by fiercer statutes. Accordingly, in grossest breach of the Limerick treaty, the savage Acts of the second and eighth years of Anne were passed, which were so carefully drawn as to leave no possible loophole for escape, if they could have been drastically administered. The object of these statutes, besides the strengthening of those already in force, was to insure the withdrawal from the hands of the Roman Catholics the fragments of the land to which they still clung; and to make it impossible in future that they should ever acquire a title to a single

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* "Ireland Industrial," &c., pp. 324–326.

acre. To secure this end, these statutes made inevitable the gradual cutting up and dispersion of the estates of Roman Catholics; deprived them of the power of settling their land, or disposing of it by will; even broke up in some cases settlements already made; and provided a ready machinery by which unscrupulous children and unfaithful wives, by the simple process of apostatizing, and even the lowest common informer, could tear to pieces, or transfer to themselves, both the income and the property of every unfortunate landowner who adhered to the religion of their fathers."

We pause here to consider these moral enormities which disgraced a Christian nation in a century boasting of its philosophic spirit, and its conquests over intolerance.

It is a fact, then, that one principal aim of these dreadful laws was, not only to get out of "the hands of the Roman Catholics (of Ireland, that is, the Irish Nation) the fragments of the land to which they still clung"; but "to make it impossible in the future *that they should ever acquire a title to a single acre!*"

So, it was not enough that the old tribal formation of the Irish should have been destroyed utterly and for ever,—that the tribal chiefs of every rank had been exterminated or driven from Ireland almost to a man, that the tribesmen, that is, the Irish People, had been dispossessed, when they could not be exterminated in their native districts,—that they had been driven to a distant part of the Island, or forced to hide and live in the woods and morasses,—and *then left with no more legal or human right to occupy one foot of their native soil than the wolf that skulked in their mountain wilds.* They had no rights in Ireland that any man, woman, or child was bound to respect.

More than that; it was attempted by this ferocious legislation, to take away from the few Celtic and Anglo-Irish proprietors left, not only every foot of soil they still owned, but every possibility of ever again holding in fee simple a single acre.

It was sought to degrade the Nation, first, by extreme poverty, by the absolute dependence and misery of slaves. Poverty is neither a sin nor a shame to those on whom it falls without fault of their own, directly or indirectly. But where a family, where a whole class, where an entire people are condemned perforce, by systematic and irresistible oppression, *to extreme, helpless, hopeless poverty,*—it means for them DEGRADATION.

This was the fate to which the Land System imposed by Cromwell and the Commonwealth, confirmed by the restored Stuarts, by William, by Anne, and her successors, the Georges,—condemned the Irish Nation.

The legislation which we have been describing, and which was devised to secure the perfect and permanent working out of that system, may have been repealed wholly or in part within the last century. The System had then done its work.

And this System exists in Ireland to this day. It is against it that the Irish People are now struggling with the energy of a man who has been fighting long with a wild beast, and holds it half-strangled, fearing the while that his own strength may give out ere the victory be complete.

But do we try to form anything like a correct notion of the stunting of every faculty, the debasement of every noble sentiment, the quenching of all higher aspirations, and the degradation of the whole life of a man, the whole existence of a family and a population, inevitably consequent upon extreme poverty?

Why our North American Indians, so long as they possess, in the immense tracts of our Western Territories, the active exercise of the chase, the rude but manly and invigorating sports handed down by one generation to another, and the abundant and wholesome food which the hunting-grounds supply, — are splendid specimens of physical strength and beauty. Hereditary freedom, besides, gives to the savage character more than one feature of greatness. But let that same race be subjected, for a generation or two, to the dreadful trials of hunger, and the enforced dwelling, for nine months in the year, in huts scarcely fit for the brute,—will they, in the third and fourth generation, preserve the lofty stature, the manly strength, the intellectual vigor of the Sioux or the Comanche, of the Huron or the Iroquois?

What has the oppressive and pitiless Land System bequeathed to Ireland by Cromwell and William III., and consolidated and fortified round about by the Penal Laws—like the brick mass of the Pyramid of Cheops clothed outside from top to base with imperishable granite,—what has it left to the Irish Catholic tenantry—tenants-at-will all of them—to live upon? At the moment I write this are not thousands upon thousands of them liable to be cast forth on the roadside to die of starvation, unpitied and unhelped by their landlords?

Unquestionably the effect of this legislation, if not the purpose of the legislators themselves, was to reduce the Irish peasantry to the condition of savages. Even to this day, the great bulk of these tenants-at-will and farm-laborers are forced to live in hovels not one degree above the wigwam of the savage, or the burrow of the Esquimaux. Have we ever reflected on the many elevating influences of a civilized home,—of a warm, comfortable, cleanly, orderly dwelling,—on the habits, the manners, the whole life of its inmates? Have we ever paused to calculate, on leaving these wretched tenements in which Irish farm-laborers are permitted to live, or in which, in the suburbs and outskirts of city and town throughout the land, the great masses of our laboring poor are born and live and die,—of how much that is refining, and purifying, and strengthening, and elevating the men and women of Ireland have been deprived for centuries—FOR CENTURIES! And you, landlords of Ireland, you upholders of this Protestant Ascendancy, will turn round and taunt this people with being *savages!* Have you not done your best to make them so?

You will stop me in my argument to say: But, long before the Penal Days, long before the Cromwellian Settlement, in the time of James I. and of Elizabeth, do not English travelers in Ireland describe the Irish Kerns and Creaghts,—the bulk of the rural population, as living in huts no whit better than the hut of the Savage?

Is it not in such huts that the Jesuit Campion found them early in the reign of Elizabeth? And has he described them as a civilized people?

I answer: In the first years of Elizabeth, and through the reign of her sister, Mary, and during the long reign of their father, had the English rulers of Ireland, and the Anglo-Irish nobles and gentry of the Pale, done nothing to disturb the populations, in the districts described by Father Campion? Had the lands of the people on the borders of the English colonies not been like the low-lying tracts on the sea-shore, alternately covered by the inundating waters, and left dry by the retiring tide? What husbandman could sow or reap on such a soil, or build a permanent and secure home on what was as unstable as the quicksands in the path of a torrent, or the confluents of two great rivers?

Without mentioning the raids, the burnings, the harryings of Lord Deputies and the March Lords under the two last Henrys, think of what Philip and Mary did in Offaly and Leix, in Fercal and Ely. "The natives were either shot down in the field, or executed by martial law, and the remnants driven into the neighboring bogs and mountains, where for a few years longer they preyed upon the settlers, and in their turn were hunted as brigands and put to death as outlaws." Under Henry VIII., we know what ravages were committed all through the centre and the south of Ireland by Lord Leonard Gray; and what were the effects the desolating wars provoked between the Butlers and the Geraldines. In what part of the fairest and most fertile districts of Ireland was the land allowed to rest from the scourge of these armed hordes passing and repassing continually, and making it impossible for the people to count on a single season of uninterrupted tranquillity? "The Plagues of Egypt," says Sir John Davies, "though they were grievous, were but of short continuance; but the plagues of Ireland lasted four hundred years together. This extortion of coin and livery (practiced by the English commanders) produced two notorious effects: first, it made the land waste; next, it made the people idle: for when the husbandman had labored all the year, the soldier in one night consumed the fruits of all his labor."

But, after all, were these people savages whom Father Campion found with their herds and flocks, living as best they might among the woods, morasses, and mountain wildernesses, to which their oppressors had driven them? Campion describes the life they led with no friendly pen. But he cannot withhold the eloquent fact that their youth were nobly ambitious of learning, and that they were no unapt scholars. Was it their fault that the Reformation suppressed the monasteries and schools spared by medieval wars, and from the land the revered masters of letters and science? And will the apologists of the Penal Laws and Protestant Ascendancy dare to taunt the Irish people with their ignorance as well as their poverty?

For absolute ignorance was counted on as certainly as extreme indigence to break down the spirit of a proud, independent, and intellectual race, and to reduce them to the abject and passive condition of the animal tamed by hunger, made submissive to the hand that throws it a bone by the terrible instincts awakened by starvation. It is possible to narrow for man as well as for the brute every thought and every activity down to the mere circle of the food for the day.

Do not talk to us of the civilization imported into Ireland by Elizabeth when it is averred that her wars swept out of existence one-half the population of the island, that is A MILLION of human beings. Has the civilizing reign of Queen Victoria been productive of more civilizing, humanizing results?

But the word ignorance has been uttered in connection with the Penal Laws as the second and surer means of degrading all classes of Irish Catholics, of making the mass of the nation content with the poverty and dependence in which they were placed by the operation of these laws.

It is necessary that we should examine carefully this count also in our indictment.

By the Statute of 7th William III. c. 4 (1695), Papists were forbidden to teach school either publicly or in private houses, except to one's own children, under a penalty of £20 fine and three months' imprisonment; and this statute was only repealed in 1782. As we have seen a few pages above, to send their children to be educated abroad was to incur the loss of civil rights, of office, goods, and lands for life.

"A Papist schoolmaster was to be liable to the same penalties as a Papist 'Regular'; and no person was to be qualified to be a schoolmaster unless he should take the oaths at the assizes or sessions. . . . This ferocious statute goes on to enact the most endeavors to stamp out their religion; it endeavors at any rate to secure the helplessness of ignorance for the Roman Catholics, if their conversion could not be achieved." *

In good families, in such at least who had managed to save from the general wreck some small portion of their fortune, it was possible, if it were not easy, for parents to teach their children. But what facilities, what possibilities were left to the poor to procure for their dear ones the boon of education?

Not only were parents who sent their sons to be educated abroad thus punished by all manner of disability, but so were all persons who made any remittance of money or goods for the maintenance of any Irish child educated in a foreign country. "But here," says Mrs. Atkinson, "the old love of learning stimulated the Irish, and made them fertile in resource. Gentlemen's sons were sent to seaports provided with indentures of apprenticeship to friendly merchants, who took care of them, watched for a safe opportunity, and despatched them, ostensibly on commercial business, to a foreign port, whence they made their way to the college in which they were to receive their education. Or, they got down to the remote parts of the coast, and were taken off by the smugglers, who anchored under the shadow of the sea-washed headlands to exchange at their leisure a cargo of clarets and brandies for the wool which the Irish were prohibited from exporting to England, and forbidden to manufacture into sale-

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* "Kingdom of Ireland," p. 342.

able goods at home. Aspirants to the Priesthood embarked with the 'wild geese,'—the recruits for the Irish Brigade—in a like hazardous fashion: or got away in fishing boats frequenting these coasts; and were satisfied if landed anywhere on the Continent, being fully prepared to trudge across mountain and plain with their faces turned toward Santiago or Salamanca, Lisbon or Louvain. The return home was effected through the same friendly agency. Priests, friars, and the alumni of the secular colleges were smuggled into their native island with the rest of the contraband freight.

"Scholars of humbler rank, and others who could not reach the Continent, repaired to the hedge-schools for instruction. It was the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties. Master and scholars assembled in the safest spot they could find: on the sheltered side of a hedge, in a dry ditch, or on the edge of a wood, and worked away at the 'Three R's,' the classics and their native tongue, prepared in dangerous times to hide their books and disperse over the country at a moment's notice. . . . This open-air school system was not felt as too great a hardship by people who were denied the shelter of a roof when they gathered round the altar of their God; and, besides, out-of-door studies had been the rule in the good old times: their great saints and great scholars, and the foreign youths who flocked to the classes of the famous teachers had made their studies under the vault of heaven, only amid more peaceful surroundings. Cardinal Newman, speaking in his 'Historical Sketches' of the ancient Irish, says: *It is impossible not to admire and venerate a race which displayed such an unextinguishable love of science and letters.* Their descendants in the eighteenth century manifested the same noble ardor, and are entitled to the same esteem. And, what is worthy of remark, the peasantry imbibed the same taste as their social superiors, and became athirst for a kind of knowledge which it was almost impossible they could ever turn to practical account. The Munster people excelled all others in taste for learning, and Kerry was believed to have the best of schools. Thither resorted students from other parts to share the advantages enjoyed by the young mountaineers. The 'ditches full of scholars' which Arthur Young tells us he often saw in his travels through Ireland, had many lads among them, who, when they got enough Latin, meant to sail away and read their theology on the Continent. Munster, in fact, was a sort of preparatory school for Salamanca. In those days Latin was freely spoken, especially in Kerry. Boys were often met with on the lonely hill-sides conning their Homer, and runners and stable-boys in the service of the Protestant gentry could quote for you a verse of Horace, or season their remarks with a line from Virgil. Dr. Smith, in his 'History of Kerry,' observes that classical reading 'extends itself even to a fault among the lower orders in Ireland, many of whom have a greater knowledge in that way than some of the better sort in other places.'" *

Hear what the latest historian of these disastrous times, Mr. Walpole, says upon this very subject. He is describing Ireland in 1760; he notes the fatal working of the *Ignorantist* Laws:

"Half a century's experience of the Penal Laws had left its mark on the Roman Catholic population. The poorer classes were more attached to the persecuted religion than ever, and at the same time *sunk in hopeless ignorance.* All education emanating from Roman Catholic sources was forbidden by law; none was provided from any other source; and but for the persevering energy of the registered priests, who, despite the penal code, in the wilder country, ventured to open schools, and in the less remote districts taught the ragged children the elements of education in the fields and by the roadside, every spark of religion and knowledge would have died out from end to end of the island. The patient persistence of the Roman clergy was very remarkable. The intention of the penal laws was that, no fresh clergy being permitted to enter Ireland and the ordaining powers being banished, the then existing registered clergy should gradually die out, and so the race of priests become extinct." †

So, half a century of enforced ignorance, added to the terrible poverty of their condition, had done its work among our noble Celtic people. In spite of the heroic devotion of their hunted priests, who taught the "ragged children" what they could, and when and where they could, the people seemed sunk, or fatally doomed to be "sunk in hopeless ignorance."

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* "Mary Aikenhead, her Life, her Work, and her Friends," pp. 51–53 .

† "Kingdom of Ireland," pp. 370, 371.

And yet the descendants of that doubly oppressed, doubly famished race,—famished in soul as well as in body,—are at the present moment crowding the schools of every grade, and displaying, with the inherited hunger for knowledge, an aptitude for mastering it which is the wonder of Englishmen themselves.

If English statesmen,—if the English people, Catholics as well as Protestants,—had only learned to appreciate all these priceless qualities and noble aptitudes! If they could have divested themselves in time of the stupid prejudices of race, and birth, and education, and seen in the Celtic nature its wealth of intellectuality, its noble aspirations, its deep and generous affections, what could they not have helped to make of Irishmen and of Ireland? And now all the accumulated wrongs of ages are beginning to threaten retribution. . . . Brute force has begotten the desire of passionate revenge. . . .

We quote the testimony of a non-Catholic writer.

"Not by all the penal laws against Roman Catholic priests could it be hoped by the most fanatical disciple of brute force, that the old faith could be ever supplanted by the new, so long as the condition of the English Church in Ireland continued to be nothing else but a scandal. While there were no less than three thousand registered Roman Catholic priests, there were for all the parishes in the island but six hundred resident Protestant incumbents, and of these six hundred the large majority were wretchedly poor, their incomes being but about £100 per annum, notwithstanding the fact that they were all pluralists, some holding as many as twelve or thirteen benefices. Numbers of parishes had no church at all, or only a battered ruin, in which no service was ever performed. Few had schools, and the few Protestant families who were to be found in the south and west, were left to shift for themselves, and in course of time fell away.

"The bishops, on the other hand, had absorbed all the church revenues, and were wealthy. The land belonging to the Irish sees was estimated at 623,598 Irish acres, or 998,000 English acres, about one-nineteenth of the entire soil of the island. All of them of the extreme Laudian type, they had through good and evil times preached the doctrine of passive obedience; and though from their experiences under James they had had reason to modify these ideas, they still continued Jacobites at heart, and were ever the rallying point of disaffection to the house of Hanover. Their political influence was very considerable. As members of the Upper House, which the absentee system had largely depleted of its lay element, they were an important and impracticable faction, which the Government were constantly compelled to humor. Ecclesiastical influences had always been remarkably felt in the Dublin Privy Council, the primate for the time being filling the office of a lord-justice in the absence of the lord-deputy or lord-lieutenant.

"In proportion to the smallness of the influence of the Church upon the mass of the people was the jealousy shown by the bench of bishops towards the Presbyterians. The bitterness and injustice with which the latter had been attacked in the reign of Charles II. was redoubled in the reign of Anne. A clause had been slipped into the penal statute of the Second of Anne by the English Privy Council, as a sop to the bishops to secure their adherence to the bill, imposing the test on Non-conformists as well as on Roman Catholics. The taking of the sacrament according to the rites of the Episcopal Church was made a condition precedent to their holding any office civil or military above the rank of a constable, and by this means every Dissenter was subjected to the same disabilities as a Roman Catholic. Armed with a new Test Act, the bishops hastened to extirpate schism. Non-conformists were cleared out of Derry and Belfast, and dismissed from the commission of the peace in Ulster. They were prohibited from opening a school. Their marriages were attacked and declared void; and men were prosecuted in the Consistory Courts as fornicators for living with their own wives. Even the Regium Donum, an annual subvention granted to the Presbyterian clergy by King William as an acknowledgment of their loyalty and determination in 1688, was suspended.

"All the efforts of the Government to repeal the Test Clause, or even to pass a Toleration Act to secure to them the use of their chapels, were rejected through the violence of the bishops in the Upper House, and it was not till after the exposure of the Jacobite rascality on the death of the Queen, and the fall of Bolingbroke and the Tory party, and after the Irish bench had been leavened by the appointment of pliant men from England, that a meagre Toleration Act took its place upon the statute book. Even this did not stem the stream of emigration to New England, and a steady drain went on of the best blood of the north to join their Puritan kinsmen in a land where liberty of conscience was respected. Nor was the condition of the parish clergy improved. The only sign of activity was an effort made by the Protestant laity in 1733, under the auspices of Archbishop Boulter, to found industrial schools under a royal charter in different parts of the country, where the children of the poorest Roman Catholics were taught, fed, and clothed, and apprenticed to a trade." *

These schools were, of course, only proselytizing traps baited for unwary or desperately needy Catholics. Nothing was done to improve the condition either of the Protestant masses or their parochial clergy. Now, with the wealth and intolerance and supineness of the Protestant Episcopal body contrast that of the poor persecuted Catholic clergy and their Bishops.

"The secular priests returned from their foreign colleges to the scene of their apostolic labors, and lived, when the times were sufficiently peaceful to allow of their doing so, dispersed in the obscure quarters of cities and towns, and in the farm-houses throughout the

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* "The Kingdom of Ireland," pp. 358–360.

country; while the friars, after going through their novitiate in the Dominican houses at Lisbon, Toledo, or Rome, or in the Franciscan convents of Italy, Germany, and Flanders, made their way to the ruins of the monasteries of their orders, took up their abode, two or three together, in a thatched corner of choir or aisle; or, failing this, built cabins for themselves within sight at least of the roofless church and the silent belfry, and waited until better times enabled them to take a farm and live on it without apprehension, while perhaps doing parish duty in their district.

"The bishops were fortunate when they possessed a modest thatched dwelling in a retired part of their diocese or an obscure quarter of the episcopal city. Dr. O'Gallagher, while bishop of Raphoe, was obliged to seek refuge in one of the small islands of Lough Erne, where, dressed in peasant costume, 'he secured amongst the humble but trusty clansmen of the Gallagher sept, a secure asylum.' In this retreat 'he re-wrote and prepared for the press the fragmentary sermons which he had from time to time preached in Irish to the flock entrusted to his pastoral charge.' When translated, in 1737, to Kildare, he lived in a village in the bog of Allen, and ordained on a hill some young priests whom he sent to finish their studies to France, Spain, or Italy. Members of the lordly house of Butler who filled the archiepiscopal see of Cashel in the last century were poorly housed in the Galtee mountains, in the vicinity of their paternal estates. Dr. James Butler, who died in his eighty-third year, in 1774, was in his old age 'permitted to dwell quietly in a humble thatched cabin, which occupied the site of the present archiepiscopal residence in Thurles.' Hitherto, almost uninterruptedly, the Archbishops of Cashel had no fixed place of residence; their pastorals and letters are all dated from *our place of refuge*. Dr. O'Callaghan of Ferns, though he resided in his diocese, had to assume the name of Walker, in order to conceal himself, and to save his life; while his successor, Dr. Sweetman, did not escape so well, but was taken up and confined in the Castle of Dublin on a malicious charge of high treason during the administration of the Duke of Portland in 1752. The Primate, Dr. O'Reilly, who died in 1758, resided in a farm-house near Drogheda, thereby enjoying a better position than his predecessor, Dr. McMahon, who occupied a still humbler tenement, and went by the name of Mr. Ennis. Bishop de Burgo, author of the 'Hibernia Dominicana,' dwelt in a lowly cottage near the ruins of St. John's Abbey in Kilkenny. In 1757 there met by stealth in the castle of Trimbleston seven of the Catholic bishops to confer on matters of importance; and tradition says that these prelates were clad in frieze like farmers, in order to conceal their ecclesiastical dignity.

"All through these troubled times the bishops and clergy of Ireland received constant and liberal remittances from the Sovereign Pontiffs. 'In truth,' observes Dr. Renehan, 'some provisions of the kind must have been made by the Holy See for the ministers of religion in this country, or else, humanly speaking, they would have died out within a few years—the very object at which the Government aimed in all their legislation. These pensions were forwarded regularly from Rome until Pope Pius VII. was driven into exile; and the bounty of the Holy Father was distributed so discreetly, that few except the Irish bishops themselves seem to have been aware that such subsidies were received." *

Ireland has not forgotten the generous and helpful liberality of such Pontiffs as Gregory XIII. and his successors. Now that the cloud of persecution has settled over Italy and Rome itself, and that the Holy See is left dependent for its support on the alms of the faithful, Ireland and the children of Ireland dispersed all over the globe, will not be apt to forget the fatherly love extended to their country and their church in the dark days of their own need. One prayer only would Irishmen address to the Vicar of Christ, that he should never allow England to stand between the Holy See and that people in all Christendom that has most suffered for their inviolable fidelity to the Chair of Peter.

"The Kingdom of Ireland," pp. 62, 63.

We cannot, at this point of our argument, thrust out of sight the Church Establishment by which England wished to supplant the old religion of the Irish Celts and the early Anglo-Norman Colonists. To do so, would be to ignore the fact that the oppression exercised on the great mass of the Irish nation by the Protestant Episcopal Church since the year 1534 and down to 1869,—was one of the most crying injustices of the English domination.

What did the Church imposed by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, propped up by the tyranny of the Stuarts, and implanted in the land like a vast system of fortified camps by William III. and the British Parliament,—what did it do for the Irish People? What päins did it take to evangelize them? What agencies were employed by it to heal the wounds of the subject race? to establish the reign of peace or brotherly love between them and the English Colony?

One finds it impossible, in studying the records of this dark period in Ireland, to separate the existence of the devoted Irish priests, both secular and regular, from that of their people, from that of the peasantry, more especially. Just as through successive centuries of trial and struggle, one generation of Celts bequeathed to the next the task of holding fast to the idea of nationality, to the fatherland, and to the ancestral faith, in spite of all enemies and difficulties, so did each generation of Irish priests knowingly and lovingly take up the Cross and through it animate their flocks to emulate the heroism of those who had gone before them.

It was a spectacle never before beheld by the civilized world. It is the noblest struggle in all history.

But we must let others beside Catholics portray the heroism of these men, our fathers in the faith as well as in the flesh.

"The succession of priests, who for the most part received their orders from the Continent, was steadily kept up, though, according to the strict interpretation of the law, after the clergy originally registered had died out, every priest in Ireland was liable to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Besides living under the ban of outlawry the Roman Catholic clergy were wretchedly poor. They were supported by the voluntary contributions of their poverty-stricken parishioners. Each person gave what he could, some a few shillings, more but a few pence, and those who could not spare money gave in kind. Small collections were made in the chapels on Sundays: the sum total of which at the end of the year was considered handsome if it amounted to a pound. The whole income of a parish priest did not come to more than thirty or forty pounds, and part of this would go to pay a curate. Still the devoted band worked steadily on, a startling contrast to the clergy of the Establishment, doing their utmost to improve the condition and to raise the moral tone of those around them, and only rewarded by the loyal affection of the flocks which they served so well.

"On the whole the earth-tillers deteriorated less than the gentry. The latter were more directly affected by the influence of the penal code. Their self-interest was appealed to; their truth and honesty were undermined; and the door was closed to every ennobling impulse. There was no way out of obscurity for ambition, no scope for energy and enterprise, except at the price of the surrender of what they had been taught was necessary to their salvation. Sham conversions were therefore common. By the year 1738 as many as a thousand Roman Catholic families of rank had nominally joined the Established Church; and no scruple was felt in taking the oaths, when perjury could be atoned for, as it constantly was, by a small penance, which purchased absolution from the priest."

We have inserted these last words, conveying, unconsciously no doubt on the part of the writer, a calumny against Catholic morality often repeated and as often triumphantly refuted. As to the number of "persons of rank" who thus apostatized—for it was apostasy—we say nothing at present. But of all sins which a human being can be guilty of, apostasy is the most heinous, since it is a denial of what one knows to be the true Religion or the true God. Such a sin is held in supreme abhorrence by the Church and her children, and visited with the greatest penalties she can inflict. In no supposable case, could the apostate adding perjury to his guilt, "atone by a small penance," or thereby "purchase absolution from the priest." This is all downright calumny. Perjury itself, apart from the enormous crime of apostasy with which it is here conjoined, is a deadly sin of fearful magnitude; and, so far as we know, neither God nor man wielding His delegated authority, does or can absolve from such guilt without the interior sorrow which detests and abhors the offence, without the firm will to atone for it and repair it, and the equally firm resolve never to admit such guilt again. There is no effective pardon, no valid absolution, no remission of sin in the sight of the soul's Creator, unless the soul turns away from the offense with supreme abhorrence thereof, and turns toward the offended Majesty of the Most High and Most Holy with humiliation and sorrow of spirit proportionate to the guilt.

This is Catholic doctrine, as well as the teaching of sound reason illumined by the light of faith.

That many of the Catholic or Anglo-Irish gentry should cast their lot with the Protestants, or seek some way of reconciling their consciences with their interest, is likely enough. Protestant human nature, as well as Catholic, doubtless furnishes instances of such compromises. But these are not such as the Church can wink at or any priest make light of. Mr. Walpole only gives way here to a prejudice all too common among his non-Catholic countrymen.

With this explanation, we return to what the historian says about the Irish gentry and peasantry in those calamitous days.

"Numbers of the gentry, thrown back on a vegetable existence in the country, lapsed into low and unworthy habits, and spent their lives in drinking and wagering, with no idea above a horse-race or the wiping out of an imaginary insult with a rapier or pistols. Others finding themselves the victims of the law, took refuge in acts of open lawlessness, and revenged themselves upon the English strangers by acts of shocking violence. . . .

"The great curse of absenteeism, which had from the earliest times undermined the prosperity of Ireland, grew to its most monstrous proportions. It was calculated that as much as one-third of the whole rental of Ireland was annually drained away to England for the support of absentee landlords. A proposal was made to tax the income of those who lived abroad, but their influence was strong enough in England to secure the rejection of the bill. The great landowners lived away in Bath and London, with no other thought for their Irish properties than the extraction of so much rent. Whole territories were leased out in large tracts to 'middlemen,' who let the land again at exorbitant rents to others, who sublet again; and this process was repeated till the estate was sometimes underlet six deep. Or the property was managed by stewards and agents, whose orders were to remit the revenues and to spend not a penny in improvements of any description. The country houses fell out of repair; the woods were recklessly cut to increase the revenue; whatever fencing or reclamation was done was done by the tenant, and done with as little show as possible, lest the keen eye of the agent should note it, and raise the rent accordingly. The tenant received no encouragement to make the most of the land. His position was too insecure. Swift's opinion as to what was wanted in 1729 was 'good firm penal clauses for improvements, with a tolerably easy rent, and a reasonable period of time.'"

This, however, is unsatisfactory and incomplete with respect to the landowners and we shall return to it in its proper place. Now, as to the peasantry:

"It was in 1761 that public attention first became directed toward the state of the peasantry. The condition of the earth-tillers had been rapidly growing worse and worse. In the old days before the plantations they had been little better than serfs, so autocratic had the clan-chiefs and the Anglo-Norman lords become; but the tie of family and old association was strong, and one faith was common to both; so that the earth-tiller followed his master to danger and death with infrangible fidelity. Even in the case of the earlier planters common interests had established a friendly feeling between the new landowner and the old tenant. But the later confiscations, especially those after the war of 1691, created a gulf between the old tenant and the still newer landowner which was never bridged over. There was no bond of sympathy between them. Of different faith and different habits, the newest race of landlords were essentially land speculators, who bought the land as an investment, determined to make every possible shilling out of their purchase. They cared not to live in a barbarous island among strangers; all they wanted was their rents; and the tenantry and peasantry never saw their faces from year's end to year's end. The landlords who were extending grass-lands wholesale, managed to get pasture land exempted from the payment of tithe, so that this hated tribute to an alien church fell wholly on the growers of grain and roots. The wretched tenants-at-will were transferred to the tender mercies of the 'middlemen,' who raised their rents to swell their own profits, and allowed them as a set-off the run of the open waste. The grazing fever set in, the land fell out of cultivation, so that according to Swift, 'even ale and potatoes were imported from England as well as corn.' The rate of wages fell to nothing; *the small farmers and laborers were cleared out of the country,* and huddled into the towns. The agents then enclosed large tracts of what had hitherto been common bog and moor, and the wretched peasants who now counted among their number the descendant of many an old proprietor, who had squatted on what was once his own domain, and who carefully devised by his will to his sons and grandsons the ancestral acres of which he was no longer the possessor, were driven from the bit of rough pasture on which they had been accustomed to turn out a pig or a cow.

"Rackrented by the remorseless middlemen, squeezed out by the narrowing cultivable lands and hunted from the common, they at length took the law into their own hands, and thought in their ignorance, that justice could be achieved by means of a secret society. In the dark nights of the winter of 1761 and the spring of 1762, mysterious parties of men with white shirts over their clothes sped over the counties of Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and Tipperary, pulling down the fences, levelling the banks, and digging up acres and acres of the pasture. As the terror grew which they inspired, they were not content with a war against grass lands and enclosures, but proposed to remedy all the wrongs from which the tenants suffered. . . .

"While the peasantry of the south were despairingly appealing to the law of force, the peasantry of the north and the working classes in the manufacturing towns had resorted to the same expedient. The public highways in Ireland were reparable by the householders. Every man was bound to give six days' labor in the year, and whoever had a horse was bound to give six days' labor of the horse as well. There had long been complaint that the poor only had been compelled to work, and that the rich were exempted from giving payment in place of manual labor. Not only was the work enforced upon the highways, but also upon private roads, while the grand juries exacted the cess from the farmers only. In 1763 a general refusal to work was followed by a rising and a demand for a redress of all grievances against waywardens, tithe-proctors, and landlords. Green boughs of oak were worn in the hats of the rioters, who went by the name of 'Oakboys.'" *

And now what is this Island which misrule has brought to such a pass?

Let us pause and examine its resources; and then see what the New Interest and the English Government have made of it?

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* "The Kingdom of Ireland."

III.

WHAT THEY HAVE DONE WITH THE LAND, ITS GEOGRAPHICAL ADVANTAGES, MINERAL WEALTH, AND INDUSTRIES.

1. *Ireland as Nature made it and as Man has ill-used it.*

THE magnificent position given to Ireland by bountiful nature, has been adverted to, rather than dwelt on, in the first part of this book. We return to it at present. It is most important that Irishmen should themselves perfectly understand what a part their native island will be called upon to play in the near future, when the necessities of inter-continental trade will make Ireland the great point of arrival and departure for the merchant fleets of Europe and America. Indeed, the whole commerce of the Pacific,—when the great ship-canals of Panama, Nicaragua, and Tehuantepec are opened,—will have its terminus at Queenstown or Galway, or at both.

In the pre-Christian period, there was a walled highway extending from Galway to Eblana, the Dublin or Kingstown of to-day (let us consider Dublin and Kingstown as one for commercial purposes). Are they not talking just now of opening a great ship-canal across the island between these two ports, and following mostly, it may be, the line of road frequented more than 2,000 years ago by the Phenician and Gaelic traders?

But we only point here to the glorious possibilities of the future—possibilities which it will depend on Irish genius to transform into realities. We have to consider what advantages God has bestowed on Erin, both for home-industry and external trade;—to show how much nature has done for Ireland, and how much man has done to thwart and mar God's evident designs.

We quote reluctantly again from Edmund Spenser; but we quote for a purpose. "Sure," he says, "it is a most beautiful and sweet country as any is under heaven, being stored throughout with many goodly rivers, replenished with all sorts of fish most abundantly; sprinkled with many very sweet islands and goodly lakes like little inland seas, that will carry even ships upon their waters; adorned with goodly woods even fit for building of houses and ships, so commodiously, as that if some princes in the world had them, they would soon hope to be lords of all the seas, and ere long of all the world; also full of very good ports and havens opening upon England, as inviting us to come to them, to see what excellent commodities that country can afford; besides the soil itself most fertile, fit to yield all kinds of fruit that shall be committed thereunto. And lastly the heavens most mild and temperate, though somewhat more moist in the parts toward the west." *

Since Spenser wrote the blind rage of English greed or English Vandalism has destroyed the forests he loved and praised so much, and of which he had such wealth around Kilcolman and down the Blackwater to Youghal and Ardmore. We have seen what a profitable traffic Walter Raleigh made of the timber in his time, and what good use the Earl of Cork and the East India merchants knew how to make of the stately woods growing down to the very beach all through Munster. The surface and the soil of Ireland, during the last three hundred years, have suffered incalculable damage from the ravages and neglect of man.

The soil is still capable, with the intelligent and loving husbandry of its sons, of bearing the richest harvest, the most remunerative crops, as well as the abundant herds and flocks of other days. For the natural fertility of the island is, if carefully husbanded, inexhaustible.

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* "View of Ireland," p. 28.

Arthur Young, and Count Murphy, both quoted at length in the early chapters of this work, demonstrate beyond the possibility of doubt the truth of this assertion. The former affirms, after a thorough survey and study of the entire island, that "natural fertility, acre for acre, over the two Kingdoms, is certainly in favor of Ireland. Of this," he continues, "I believe there can scarcely be a doubt entertained, when it is considered that some of the more beautiful, and even best cultivated countries in England, owe almost everything to the capital, art, and industry of the inhabitants." He had said a little before: "To judge of Ireland by the conversation one sometimes hears in England, it would be supposed that one-half of it was covered with bogs, and the other with mountains filled with Irish, ready to fly at the sight of a civilized being. There are people who will smile when they hear, that in proportion to the size of the two countries, Ireland is more cultivated than England, having much less waste land of all sorts." *

Elsewhere, he remarks: "You must examine into the Irish soil before you can believe, that a country which has so beggarly an appearance, can be so rich and fertile." †

It would seem incredible to one who hears so much about the chronic distress of the agricultural population of Ireland, and the periodical appeals for help in favor of her starving millions, that she has, in proportion to her extent, more cultivated lands than France. Mr. Young distributes the soil of the latter country into 131,000,000 of acres, of which 84,000,000 are under cultivation, and 47,000,000 occupied by woods and wastes,—the latter making more than one-third of the entire surface of the country. In Ireland, on the contrary, the uncultivated portions make up much less than one-third. Besides, whereas in France and even in England, Scotland, and Wales, the greater part of the waste land is unreclaimable, the uncultivated lands of Ireland are easily reclaimable.

And yet,—more than a century after Mr. Young, in spite of the

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* "Tour in Ireland," ii., part ii., p. 3.

† *Ibidem*, p. 147.

natural advantages pointed out by this enlightened English traveler, in spite, indeed, of the protestation of English statesmen and Irish patriots, the proportion of cultivated lands in Ireland is yearly on the decrease! But we must not anticipate.

Even the Irish mountains are not stricken with barrenness. Newenham, who published his "View of Ireland" in 1809, says of them: "In most of the mountainous districts of Ireland, 5,000 acres will be found to yield more and better food for cattle than 100,000 in many parts of Scotland and Wales. The Irish mountains are entirely different from those of the countries just mentioned. Herbage of some sort or other grows on the very summits of some of the loftiest in Ireland; but in Scotland, and for the most part in Wales, cattle stray from their pasture as they ascend the mountain's brow. The peculiar tendency of the Irish soil to grass is such, that the mountainous land yields good sustenance to prodigious droves of young cattle. . . . The mountains of Ireland are the principal nurseries for those immense herds of bullocks and cows which are fattened or fed on the luxuriant lowlands; and almost the only nurseries for those which are annually exported to England, and of which the number in four years, ending 5th January, 1804, amounted to 106,578, worth according to the prices current in that year, £1,044,464." *

Unhappily, as the nineteenth century continued its course, the cattle industry, instead of progressing, fell away; and at the present moment, on account of the cattle and meat trade with the United States, New Zealand, and Australia, it is very seriously threatened.

But we are now talking of the soil and its luxuriant vegetation. "If as much rain fell upon the clays of England (a soil very rarely met with in Ireland, and never without much stone) as falls upon the rocks of her sister-island, those lands could not be cultivated. But the rocks here are clothed with verdure. Those of limestone, with only a thin covering of mould, have the softest and most beautiful turf imaginable." So writes Arthur Young. This natural fertility

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* "View of the Natural, Political, and Commercial Circumstances of Ireland," 4to. London, 1809;—pp. 66, 67.

is supplemented, and can be perpetually renewed or increased, by the extraordinary abundance of the very best natural manures, ready to hand, all over the island. This great abundance is entirely independent of the presence of cattle. According to Mr. Young, on the coast of Mayo, where sea and other manures are within reach of all, "the common people let their dung-hills accumulate till they become such a nuisance that they remove their cabins to get rid of them." Limestone, except in Wexford, Wicklow, Tyrone, and Antrim, abounds everywhere; so does limestone gravel, the best of all mineral manures. White, grey, and blue marls are also plentiful all over the surface of the island. The sea-coast provides a near and ready supply of coral-sand, or shelly sand which is little inferior to it. Then there are the sea-weeds, and the sea ooze.

The climate of Ireland contributes not a little to the fertility of the soil, though its excessive humidity has more than one serious drawback. In the twelfth century Giraldus Cambrensis thought it the mildest of all known climates (*Terra terrarum temperatissima*).

The Climate.

"A very great proportion," says Newenham, "of the fat cattle sent to Waterford, Limerick, and Cork, are never housed. The cattle slaughtered in the market of Cork, in the months of February and March, with the exception of those fattened at the distilleries, are, eight out of ten, fattened wholly on grass. The dairy cows in the province of Munster are never, through downright necessity, housed. In a part of the county of Kerry the people often leave their potatoes in the beds without additional covering during the winter; and they have been known to obtain two crops of corn from the same land within the year." *

Elsewhere he says: "Its general mildness, indeed, is such, that, except in the northern counties, the rich pastures or those which have been fairly treated, exhibit in the midst of winter the most beautiful verdure imaginable, affording sustenance to cattle throughout the year." The ancient Celts, therefore, profited well by both soil and climate.

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* "View of Ireland," p. 41.

The disadvantages of the moist climate of Ireland are, that it makes the season for ripening grain of every kind, wheat in particular, a thing of great uncertainty. Hence, while American grain is so abundant and so cheap, Irish farmers are unwilling to risk raising cereal crops. The summer of 1884, as well as its fine weather lasting through August and September, is an exception to the general prevalence of wet years; 1860, '61, and '62 were, as Irish farmers have not forgotten, years fatal to all grain crops.

It is, on the whole, a singularly mild climate, especially in the southern counties. Its effect both on vegetable and animal life is most favorable. Its green vesture lasts the whole year, through midwinter as through the Dog-Days. Along the sunny shores of the county of Cork the fuchsia and myrtle grow and thrive in the open. When, in the latitude of New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, the snows of winter wrap the earth in a thick shroud, the fields and mountains of Ireland still afford green pastures to flocks and herds; while the grass in our fields is burned to the root by our tropical summer sun, and the foliage on our trees is shriveled up or shed on the parched earth, woods and wolds in Ireland are covered with a vegetation as fresh and luxuriant as that of our early June.

This climate with all its moisture is as favorable to animal as it is to vegetable life. Hard as has been the lot of the Irish peasantry, of the great mass of the laboring classes, generation after generation, when systematically deprived, under Elizabeth, and James, and Cromwell, of the necessaries of life in the midst of their devastated fields, or when afterwards reduced to depend for subsistence on a single vegetable,—they have shown themselves, physically, a hardy, robust, and active race. During the stay of the Papal Legate, Rinuccini, both he, and the Italians in his suite, were in admiration of the bodily strength and powers of endurance displayed by the native Irish. The Irishman, in his own native land, is not subject to the extreme heat which weakens and wastes the frame during the months when the thermometer ranges in the *Nineties,* nor to the excessive cold which dwarfs and stunts the frame, especially where extreme poverty forbids the use of a comfortable habitation, comfortable clothing, or nutritious food.

Had the popular classes in Ireland the means of living like our country-folk in the United States,—wholesome and abundant diet, warm clothing, and homes befitting, not savages, but civilized human beings, would make of them, in their mild, moist climate, the handsomest and most robust race in Europe, or in the world.

Mineral Wealth.

Coming to the mineral wealth of Ireland, and quoting, not from the scientific works of living writers, but from those of men who surveyed Ireland a century ago, and laid the results of their studies before the eyes of Parliament and the Government, we shall thereby make it clear that the mineral resources of the country, like all its other natural advantages, have been wilfully and shamefully neglected, while all Europe and America were progressing rapidly.

"There is," says Newenham, "not a county in Ireland which does not contain some valuable mineral or fossil; several of them, it is now ascertained, abound with treasures of this sort; and these, for the greater part, are most happily situated for the exportation of their products, either in a rude or manufactured state." *

It is a very common prejudice that Ireland contains little, if any, of really available mineral riches. Her coal mines, we admit, are of trifling account as compared with those of the neighboring island. But nature has been so bountiful as to compensate amply for the absence of coal. Taking the counties in alphabetical order, we find from the works of Dr. Smith, and of Mr. Donald Stewart minerals distributed as follows all over the island:

In Armagh, lead, ochres of different colors, and various beautiful marbles.

"View of Ireland," p. 45.

In Antrim, coal and gypsum in abundance, beautiful crystals, pebbles, and different sorts of ochres.

In Carlow, granite, talc, marbles, crystals, and ochres.

In Cavan, fine lead ore, iron, coal, ochres, clay, fuller's earth, sulphur, copper, silver, and jasper.

In Clare, lead, iron, copper, coal, and beautiful spars like those of Derbyshire.

In Cork, lead, iron, copper, coal, fine slate, extremely beautiful marbles of a great variety of colors, petrifactions, brown and yellow ochres, excellent potter's clay, and amethysts of great beauty.

In Donegal, rich lead ore, immense quantities of different sorts of clays, coal, siliceous sand, manganese, iron, beautiful granite, chalcedony, marble very like statuary marble, and granites.

In Down, iron, fuller's earth, soap-stone, rich lead, marbles of different sorts, crystals, granite, copper, and very fine slate.

In Dublin, copper, lead, ochres of different colors, potter's clay, beautiful pebbles, crystals, and porphyry.

In Fermanagh, rich iron ore and coal.

In Galway, rich lead, crystals, pearls, and marbles of superior beauty.

In Kerry, abundance of rich copper, lead, beautifully variegated marbles, cobalt, crystals, pearls, and amethysts.

In Kildare, marbles of different colors, and bearing a higher polish than Italian marble.

In Kilkenny, iron, coal, ochres, pipe and potter's clay, marbles of remarkable beauty, granite, and jasper.

In King's County, a silver mine near Edenderry.

In Limerick, iron, copper, lead, coal, and fine slate.

In Londonderry, iron, copper, lead, abundance of crystals, beautiful pebbles and petrifactions near Lough Neagh, granite, and marbles.

In Leitrim, inexhaustible stores of iron and coal, copper, blue, green, yellow, pale red, and crimson-colored clays, fuller's earth, and granites.

In Longford, a great variety of marbles, ochres, lead, fine slate, extremely rich iron ore, and jasper.

In Louth, ochres and fuller's earth.

In Mayo, abundance of iron ore, ochres, granite, coal, slate of a superior quality, beautiful black marble without a speck, and manganese.

In Meath, ochres, rich and abundant copper ore.

In Monaghan, iron, lead, manganese, coal, marble, fuller's earth, and antimony.

In Queen's County, iron, coal, copper, marble, ochres, fuller's earth, and potter's clay.

In Roscommon, ochres, coal, iron, and marble containing petrified skeletons of various animals, and susceptible of a very high polish.

In Sligo, iron, copper, lead, coal, fine clays, talc, silver, and in abundance near the coast a stone bearing a high polish, which is called serpent-stone, from its presenting figures resembling the skeletons of this reptile.

In Tipperary, rich and numerous copper and lead mines, coal, silver, plenty of fine slate, clays, and the most beautiful marbles.

In Tyrone, iron and plenty of good potter's clay.

In Waterford, copper in abundance, iron, ochres, handsome pebbles, and—near the harbor—a most beautiful green and black marble.

In Westmeath, copper, lead, coal, and handsome yellow and dove-colored marbles.

In Wexford, lead, copper, iron, marbles, ochres, and a blue earth.

In Wicklow, crystals, sulphur, manganese, copper in abundance, granite, lead, tin, and several other metallic substances, including gold.

To this summary we must add the opinions of two English miners on the famous Arigna iron-mines: Mr. Lawson, in evidence before the Irish House of Commons, stated, that the iron-stone at Arigna lay in beds of from three to twelve fathoms deep; and that it could be raised for two shillings and sixpence the ton . . . . ; that the coal in the neighborhood was better than any in England; and that it extended six miles in length, and five in breadth. He also stated that fire-brick clay and free-stone of the best qualities were in the neighborhood, and that a bed of potter's clay extended there two miles in length and one in breadth. Mr. Clarke, on the same occasion, declared that the iron ore was inexhaustible. And our distinguished countryman, Mr. Kirwan, . . . affirmed that the Arigna iron was better than any iron made from any species of single ore in England.

So Newenham. Since then several attempts have been made to work these mines to advantage; but, in the last instance, at least, the direction of the works or the works themselves fell into the hands of "jobbers," who made the name of the mine notorious. The latest report is that of Mr. Twigg, who reports to the Directors of the Arigna Company: "A greater variety of ironstones I have never met with, from which, by a proper admixture and proper management, I have no hesitation in saying that pig-iron of the best marks, and fit for foundry work of any kind, may be obtained. . . . We can get any quantity at the shortest notice. There is enough to last two furnaces for two hundred and fifty years."

Such is the land and such its treasures. We have given this notice of the Arigna mine only to show how little the Government, the local landlords, and Irish capitalists in general care for the development of these great resources.

At any rate, it is evident, that Ireland contains within her own bosom inexhaustible treasures which have never yet been turned to proper account.

Water Communication.

But, in connection with the fertility of the soil, what it produces and what it is capable of yielding to skilful husbandry, and with the undeveloped mineral wealth and all the possibilities of industry and commerce,—there are the wonderful facilities for communication by water, as well as the immense water-power ready for manufacturing purposes. Ireland in this respect yields to no country on the face of the globe.

The coast-line all round the island is indented with harbors. "Taking one district with another," says Newenham, "there is a harbor or safe anchoring place to about every 150 square miles, or every 96,000 acres. . . . There are not," he says elsewhere, "twenty harbors in England and Wales which can be classed with forty of the best in Ireland; nor, with perhaps the single exception of Milford, which is about seven miles long and one broad, with from four to thirteen fathoms on a bottom of mud, is there one in the former which can, in almost any respect, be compared with the best ten in the latter. And if the safe anchoring places be added to the harbors of each country, Ireland will rank above England not only in capaciousness, safety, and proportionate number of harbors, but likewise in the general number of places for the accommodation of shipping, there being 136 harbors and anchoring places belonging to the former; and, as far as appears by the charts which the writer has examined, only 112 to the latter." *

Indeed the magnificent estuaries of the south and west coasts seem fitted by Providence to receive the fleets of both hemispheres in the new era which is dawning upon Ireland and the world.

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* "View of Ireland," pp. 8–43.

Not less wonderful is the network of rivers and lakes by which interior intercourse is facilitated. The same author saw and proclaimed this at the beginning of the century.

"So numerous are the rivers of Ireland, in proportion to its size, and so abundant the supply of water, that we may safely say, almost every parish might enjoy the benefits of internal navigation, at an expense, which, one place with another, many a company of British undertakers would disregard, and that very few parts of Ireland, comparatively speaking, would be found ineligible for the establishment of manufactures through a deficiency of water, or the want of water-carriage. Of 248 mills for grinding corn erected in Ireland between the years 1758 and 1790, every one, as far as the writer can learn, is turned by water. Windmills are in no country less common, or less necessary, than in this." *

During the brief period of self-government enjoyed by the country in the last century, it was proposed to construct a system of canals connecting the great watercourses with each other and with the principal ports. An accurate survey was made. "Thirty-two rivers were found by actual survey to be fit and capable of being rendered navigable, whereof the united lengths, in addition to that of the Shannon, and those of the projected canals, exceed 1,000 miles. Had the proposed works, therefore, been carried into effect, 10,000 square miles, or 6,400,000 acres, would, at furthest, have been within five miles of navigable river or canal. And if to this be added the sinuous line of the Irish coast, comprising 1,737 miles, it will be seen that 18,685 square miles, or 11,958,400 acres, which constitute almost two-thirds of the area of Ireland, would have lain within five miles of sea, river, or canal; and three millions of money, faithfully and skilfully expended, would probably be more than sufficient for the purpose.

"The maritime counties comprise two-thirds of the land of Ireland. Each of them has from two to twelve of the rivers in pro-

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* "View of Ireland," p. 25.

portion to the extent of the sea-coast; nor, with the exception of Wicklow, is there one of them which has not the advantage of one or more rivers, either actually navigable to a very considerable distance from the sea, or capable of being rendered so at a moderate expense." *

In this system of internal navigation, for all the purposes of trade, pleasure, and neighborly intercourse, the numerous large and beautiful lakes of Ireland must be counted as a most important element. A glance at the map of Ireland will show how the entire network of lakes may be connected with the Shannon, the main artery of commercial life and activity for the whole island.

The Fisheries.

We have said nothing of the Fisheries of Ireland, which ought to be, but which are not, a mine of wealth for the hardy populations of the maritime counties, a school in which the nation might train an army of brave seamen. . . . All, all have been neglected. All, in the past, has been a blind and savage and stupid sinning against the manifest designs of Him who made both the sea and the land for man's activity.

How happens it that, on a soil so fertile, with such a climate, in such a magnificent geographical position on the great highway of commerce between the Old World and the New, and all through this enlightened, industrial, and freedom-loving nineteenth century,—Irishmen—the entire nation—have been stricken with poverty, visited every decade with famine, with insufficient crops to live upon, no industry, no manufactures, no trade, no commerce?

It is a fearful question,—a mystery unfathomable at first sight, but easily explained in the light of history.

"The infatuation of England," says Mr. Walpole, "in respect to the economic laws by which Ireland was to be hindered from growing wealthy, was the more extraordinary inasmuch as the mischief was inflicted not so much upon the beaten-down native population, as upon the thriving English citizens in the towns and seaports, who were intended to be the mainstay of the English ascendancy. The English commercial world had always been absurdly jealous of the least prospect of Irish prosperity. Strafford had done his best to ruin the rising woollen manufacture in order to protect English clothiers. Cromwell had indeed conferred the same commercial privileges on Ireland as were enjoyed by England; but in 1663 the English landed interest became alarmed lest the rents of their grazing land should fall by reason of the imported Irish cattle diminishing the growth of English beasts. For Ireland was always a great pasture country, and cattle her chief source of wealth. A hasty bill was passed by the unreasoning Royalist Houses, absolutely prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle, sheep, swine, salt meat, or bacon; and declaring such importation to be a 'common nuisance'; and so violent was their ignorant ill temper, that a contribution of Irish cattle generously offered by the Irish gentry for the relief of the citizens of London who had been ruined by the great fire was ungraciously denounced as an attempt to undersell the English growers.

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* "View of Ireland," p. 18.

"In the year 1663 Ireland was carefully omitted from the 'Act for the encouragement of trade,' which amended the Navigation Act of 1660, the consequence of which was that all the carrying trade in Irish-built ships with any part of his Majesty's domains was forbidden, under the penalty of forfeiture of ship and cargo. And in 1696 all direct import trade with the British Colonies was absolutely prohibited, and all colonial produce was first obliged to pass through, and pay duty in, England.

"Now that on the return of peace to the distracted island, trade had rapidly revived, and the Irish, unable, by reason of the English laws, to make profit out of the growing of cattle, had turned their pastures into sheep-walks, it was found that the woollen manufactures were showing signs of increased vitality, and the English traders fell into a selfish panic, lest Irish competition should reduce their gains, and clamored for legislative protection. The ruin of the Irish woollen trade, almost wholly, be it remembered, in the hands of the English colony, was decreed, and remorselessly effected. The servile Irish legislature was compelled to pass an act (10 William III., c. 5) 'in grateful acknowledgment of his majesty's royal care, favor, and protection,' putting a prohibitive export duty on all broadcloths, kerseys, serges, and flannels; while the English Parliament passed an Act prohibiting the export of either Irish wool or woollen goods to any port in the world except to Milford, Chester, Liverpool, and certain ports in the British Channel, under a penalty of £500, and the forfeiture of both ship and cargo; and forbad its shipment from any Irish port except Cork, Drogheda, Dublin, Kinsale, Waterford, and Youghal.

"English and Irish wool was the best in the world. England was by English law the only market for Irish wool, and she could take it at her own price, otherwise Ireland had no purchaser. The English manufacturer, therefore, had a monopoly of the best wool at a low price. But what put money into the pockets of the English traders was the ruin of the Irish manufacturer and the Irish grower; and the hands who had been employed in the manufacture of woollen stuffs were thrown out of employment, and streamed away to America and the Continent never to return." *

"The object of that species of policy which the British Government had exercised toward Ireland (said Mr. Pitt in his speech on the commercial propositions in the year 1785) had been to debar her from the enjoyment and use of her own resources, and to make her completely subservient to the interest and opulence of Britain."

Mr. Newenham is more emphatic still in his condemnation of such an unqualifiable policy. "In reviewing," he says, "the different acts of the parliaments of Britain and Ireland, which affected the trade of the latter, it will be found that the trade of a distinct kingdom, the trade of an essential part of the British Empire, was unsuitably, un-

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* "The Kingdom of Ireland," pp. 352–354.

justly, unwisely, and oppressively limited like that of a colony; that the prosperity of Ireland was always sacrificed to that of Britain; that, with the exception of the linen, every valuable manufacture established in Ireland, or of the establishment or even introduction whereof there was any prospect, and which was likely to become in any degree a competitor, either in the home or foreign market, with a similar one undertaken in Britain, however insignificant, was industriously depressed; that the Irish were invariably obliged to give the preference to the produce of British industry; that, with the foregoing exception, no manufacture of Ireland was fairly received by Britain; that downright necessity alone occasioned the admission of even the rude produce of the former into the latter; that the acts of the Irish parliament which affected to aim at internal improvements, calculated to enlarge the trade of the country, or which purported to be for the advancement of any lucrative species of enterprise, were, for the most part, merely illusive." *

"The monopolizing spirit of England has sate like an incubus over the sister island, blasted all its blessings, and entailed on it unutterable woes. Whenever the interests of the whole Irish nation came into collision even with those of a single city, town, or corporation in England, they were offered up a sacrifice on the altars of avarice and cupidity without remorse and without control. In every case, of course, when the great national interests on both sides interfered, those of the Irish were unfeelingly devoted to destruction.

"Throughout the whole connection there has scarcely been one measure adopted on the part of England towards Ireland, that wears the semblance of a magnanimous policy, except when forced from her fears during the American Revolution." †

Should any one deem these judgments pronounced on the utterly selfish policy of England either too severe, or not sufficiently justified by historical evidence, we should advise him to consult the publications of the State Paper Office. In a preceding chapter we

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* "View of Ireland," p. 97.

† *Vindiciæ Hibernicæ*, p. 496.

blamed the Earl of Strafford for sacrificing to England the woollen industry of Ireland,—which was beginning to revive and prosper after the "confiscations" and "plantations" of James, and the desolating wars of Elizabeth. Here are his own words:

"Wisdom advises to keep this kingdom as much subordinate and dependent upon England as is possible, and holding them from the manufacture of wool (which, unless otherwise directed, I shall by all means discourage), and then in forcing them to take their clothing from thence (England), and to take their salt from the King (being that which preserves and gives value to all their native staple commodities), how can they depart from us without nakedness and beggary?"

Elsewhere he insists upon the same purpose: "It would trench not only upon the clothings of England, being our staple commodity, so as if they should manufacture their own wools, which grew to very great quantities, we should not only lose the profit we make now by indraping their wools, but his Majesty lose extremely by his customs; and in conclusion it might be feared they would beat us out of the trade itself, by underselling us, which they were well able to do."*

This policy of selfishness continued to govern the councils of England under every succeeding régime and dynasty.

We have seen above how, under William III., the woollen industries of Ireland were ruthlessly sacrificed to secure an English monopoly in that business. It is amusing to read, at this distance of time, the reasons on which the English House of Lords based the demand to kill Irish manufactures. On June 9, 1698, they stated in an address to the King: "that the growing manufacture of cloth in Ireland, both by the cheapness of all sorts of necessaries of life, and goodness of materials for making all manner of cloth, doth invite his subjects of England with their families and servants to leave their habitations to settle there, to the increase of the woollen manufacture in Ireland, which makes his loyal subjects in this kingdom very apprehensive that the further growth of it may greatly prejudice the said manufacture here; and praying that his Majesty would be further pleased, in the most public and effectual manner that may be, to declare to all his subjects of Ireland, *that the growth and increase of the woollen manufacture there hath long, and will ever, be looked upon with great jealousy by all his subjects of this kingdom.*"

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* "State Letters" of the Earl of Strafford, vol. i., p. 193; vol. ii., p. 19.

The Irish manufacturers, dismayed but not entirely discouraged by such legislation, applied themselves to improve their own methods of production, and turned out cloths in every way superior to any thing that came from English or French looms. Again there was a storm of jealousy and indignation in England; and an Act was passed forbidding under severe penalties the exportation to Ireland of fuller's earth and scouring clay! Probably, Irish manufacturers had not then discovered the great abundance of fuller's earth with which their own country was blessed, and had, therefore, to depend on England for their supply of that article. How wretchedly narrow is such a national spirit!

Finding themselves thus hopelessly debarred from all prospect of success in the woollen industries, the Irish began to manufacture silk, and were rewarded by putting on the market an excellent article. But England grew once more alarmed. And in 1729, that then miserable excrescence on the body politic, the Irish Parliament, the servile tool of the landlord interest in both countries, passed an Act exempting English silks from all import duties into Ireland!

At the time of passing this act, "there were," says Newenham, "according to the evidence given before the Irish parliament in 1784, 800 silk looms at work in Ireland. Thirty-six years afterwards there were but 50; and thus 3,000 persons were driven to beggary or emigration."

We have also seen above that by an Act passed in 1695 the Irish were interdicted from trading directly with any part of the British colonies. In 1730 another act was passed permitting the Irish to import directly from the English Plantations in America, ALL goods produced there, "except sugars, tobacco, indigo, cotton, wool, molasses, ginger, pitch, tar, turpentine, masts, yards and bowsprits, speckled wood, Jamaica wood, fustick, or other dyeing woods, rice, beaver skins or other furs, or copper ore."

It will be seen that *rum* was the only West Indian production not "excepted." This exception, however, was cunningly devised to kill in Ireland the manufacture of spirits of all kinds, the only industry then left to the Irish.

Simultaneously with the distilling of spirits, Ireland carried on the manufacture of beer, ale, and porter, and revived that of glass, which, as our readers may recollect, had been recommended by the most intelligent among Elizabeth's Adventurers. Again there was an outcry in England among the men interested in these industries, and an Act was sent over to the Irish Parliament in 1738, decreeing "that all hops landed in Great Britain or Ireland, except British hops in the latter, should be burned, and the ship forfeited." A duty of "threepence per pound, over and above all other duties, customs, and subsidies," was imposed on hops thus landing in Ireland from Great Britain. Of course this killed the Irish breweries.

In 1750, they killed, by a similar process, the manufacture of glass. The importation of glass into Ireland from any place but Britain, and the exportation of glass from Ireland *to any place whatsoever,* were prohibited on pain of forfeiture of ship and cargo, and a penalty of ten shillings for every pound weight of glass put on board, or on shore, on the master, and on every person aiding and assisting therein.

This manufacture was especially flourishing in Cork, where very superior and beautiful cut-glass was produced. Indeed this industry promised to compensate in some measure for the extinction of the woollen trade. But nothing was permitted to thrive in the ill-fated island.

We have barely alluded to the odious part played by the Irish Parliament in all these discreditable transactions. It must be constantly borne in mind that the landlord legislators of Ireland were ever basely subservient to those of their class in the British Legislature.

But we have not depicted the deplorable effects of all this restrictive and prohibitive legislation on the agricultural interests and population of Ireland.

We are here at the very source of that incredible wretchedness, discontent, agrarian violence at home, forced emigration to foreign lands, and inextinguishable hatred of England cherished by the emigrants, which make up so much of Irish modern history, and so much as well of England's present difficulties and danger.

The woollen monopoly in England overreached itself. The demand was far below the supply; and the only market was the home-market. So, in 1733 (7 George II.), an Act was passed to "encourage the home consumption of wool," and it obliged every corpse to be buried in a woollen shroud, under a penalty of £5, to be recovered from the executors.

The "growth" of wool being the only resource left to Ireland, and England being the only lawful market for the article,—two things happened: the whole country was turned into a sheep-walk, and the entire coast-line became the resort of smugglers, who carried the beautiful Irish wool to the Continent in return for French wines and Flemish wares. A large trade in salt meat had grown up also.

Then happened what has been happening in Ireland during the last three decades; the farmers,—the tenants-at-will, were evicted on a large scale, and were replaced by graziers. Where twenty or thirty farmers had cultivated an estate, with their large force of farm-laborers, one or two herdsmen or shepherds sufficed to do the proprietor's work. So the tillers of the soil were driven to beggary, starvation, or to emigration—when they could afford to emigrate.

Leases were only given on condition that the land should be kept in pasture, and thus the area of cultivable soil yearly diminished; and in inverse proportion grew distress, beggary, the despair of the people, and crime. In 1716 the Irish legislature demanded to pass a law compelling the putting into cultivation five per cent. of the fallow lands thus leased out, and offering a small bounty on the export of corn.

Would it be believed that this proposed enactment created such alarm in England, that the measure was nipped in the bud! The Irish would surely undersell the English corn-growers; and Ireland had, of late, become their most profitable market.

Then came (1725) a potato-blight with its fearful accompaniments of starvation and fever, thousands of the poor people dying of hunger in Ulster.

In 1731 the Legislators of England,—that is the great landlord interest in both countries,—were shamed into cancelling the clauses in their leases forbidding the breaking up and cultivation of the soil,—of only a very small portion, however.

It was a small homœopathic dose to remedy a gigantic and ever-growing evil,—the absence of REMUNERATIVE LABOR in a whole nation. It has been so in Ireland for centuries. It is so still.

The mass of the people were deprived of all right to the soil of their native country; the landlords allowed them to have no interest in it, to accumulate no capital out of it, to put none of their capital into it. There was no work for Irishmen to do in Ireland. There was no industry allowed to them by which the laborer could supplement the absence of agricultural toil. England would not allow—and Irish landlords and legislators would not allow—a race richly endowed with intelligence, with a rare aptitude and a natural loving for handicraft and skilled labor, to apply a single talent to its proper object at home.

Is not this the history of Irish misery? of Irish unrest and discontent? of the revolt of the reason and the sentiments against what is unnatural, absurd, utterly at variance with political wisdom, enlightened self-interest, and all the dictates of Religion and humanity? Is not this the root of chronic rebellion?

We are comparing what Ireland and Irishmen are by the bountiful provision of nature;—what they might and ought to be through the agencies of a wise and liberal policy;—with what blind political passion, the fanaticism of race and religion, and the unreasoning greed of a hostile or indifferent landlord class have made them.

The horrible abuses, and the inconceivable mistakes of this chronic misrule of centuries, must have an end. The Landlord Class of Great Britain and Ireland, assembled in Parliament, have it in their power to atone and to repair. A minority of them, and a very influential one,—say: Let the Celt disappear from Ireland! We have wronged him too deeply to expect forgiveness. He is a standing menace to our peace, and our homes. Let Ireland become once more a pasture, with English and Scotch graziers and care-takers. Since we cannot starve out the Celt, or dare not exterminate him, let the ocean be put between him and us. By and by, Ireland will become as British as Scotland is.

But the majority,—a majority yearly increasing,—say: No! humanity, justice, fair play, demand that we should obtain good profitable work for the laborer, secure homes on the bountiful earth for all who till it and help to develop its treasures;—let this be the law for Ireland as well as for England! We have been all wrong in our treatment of the sister-island; we have done her people and the very earth they inhabit an injury it will take centuries to repair. But the reparation must be made. And precisely because it must take so long a time to complete it, let us begin it at once, and without an hour's delay!

2. *The Battle for Irish Trade and Industry in the Irish Parliament.*

We have spoken of the Irish Parliament. Let it not be forgotten what a wretched sham was covered by that name from the time of Orange William down to the days when Henry Grattan's patriotic genius redeemed it, for a brief space only, from servility and corruption. We know that the miserable band of mitred bigots and Orange Lords who sat in the Upper House, and the unprincipled Commoners who represented the English Colony only in the Lower,—had no sympathy with the majority of the nation.

"The bulk of the House was composed of the nominees of the great Protestant landowners. Their influence in the counties, where the number of freehold voters was but limited, was overwhelming; while the boroughs, nearly all of which were erected on land owned by some great freeholder, and in which the franchise was usually limited to some half a score of aldermen and the mayor or 'sovereign,' who composed the corporation and were the freeholder's creatures, were to all intents and purposes the private property of the 'Patron.' . . . The great object of the powerful and wealthy families of the Protestant Ascendancy was to get command of as many seats as possible. The control of votes meant political influence and power, and grew into a most effectual engine for the extraction of lucrative posts from Government." *

Here is the way prepared and the agencies created for the frightful corruption which Ireland witnessed in the last century,—and the crowning act of which was *the sale to England of the Irish Constitution.*

"The lord-lieutenant spent half his time in England, the Government was in the hands of the Lords Justices,—who usually were the primate, the lord-chancellor, and the speaker of the House of Commons. . . . The spirit of corruption which had eaten the heart out of English political morality, was fast destroying all ideas of honor and honesty amongst the public men of Ireland. . . . The mouths of the exposers of English iniquity were stopped with colonelcies of regiments, peerages, and office; and the country was further plundered to provide the hush money.

"During the last years of George II. . . . the Government was in the hands of one of the lords justices, the arch-corrupter Primate Hone, through whose hands the stream of patronage flowed. Henry Boyle, the speaker, was also a lord justice, but had none of the patronage, and was determined to secure it by ruining the Primate."

All this while the Irish Papists were groaning under the load of disabilities imposed by the Penal Laws, and their Priests and Bishops outlawed and hunted into bogs, morasses, or the wildest mountain tracts. It was the period which gave birth to the Whiteboys, the Hearts of Steel, and the Oakboys; a period fertile in sufferings which it sickens the soul to have to record. For the two former secret associations—the offspring of extreme misery and despair—no redress was found but in extermination or emigration: they were Catholics. The Oakboys were Protestants; they had serious grievances enough to complain of,—but they were neither disfranchised, nor down-trodden, nor starving;—and they were granted a hearing, and obtained redress.

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* "The Kingdom of Ireland," pp. 362, 363.

"If the military force," said Lord Chesterfield, then Viceroy, "had killed half as many landlords as it had Whiteboys, it would have contributed more effectually to restore quiet. For the poor people in Ireland are worse used than negroes by their masters, and deputies of deputies of deputies."

So, in 1768, the disturbing agencies in Ireland were, not so much the poor slaves driven to desperation by brutality, hard-heartedness, and hunger, as "their masters, and deputies of deputies of deputies."

Have the troubles of 1880–85 to be traced to any other causes?

But let us follow on the track of that Orange Corruption, that Protestant Ascendancy in Parliament, which is consummating all the wickedness of its progenitors, as well as the ruin of unhappy Ireland.

1767.—"The wire-pullers of the Privy Council, the Boyle and Ponsonby oligarchy, who monopolized the office of lord justice, were in the habit of bargaining with each new lord-lieutenant as to the terms upon which they would 'undertake' to 'carry on the King's business.' For, as all the loaves and fishes, places, pensions, and preferments, passed through their hands, they could command an enormous majority."

And now came with the breaking out of the American War of Independence, the first dawn of hope for Ireland. It was, indeed, the darkest hour before dawn.

"England had done her best to ruin her Protestant Colony in Ireland. She had starved its manufactures, destroyed its trade, made a

HENRY GRATTAN.

AFTER THE PICTURE BY J. RAMSAY.

portunity of public opinion was becoming too strong to be resisted. The excitement of the people grew day by day more formidable. The cry out of doors was emphasized in Parliament by the purified patriot party, now led, since Flood's defection, by the unsullied Henry Grattan.

"The war was carried into England; and Lord Nugent and Edmund Burke, in the English House of Commons, moved that a committee of the whole House should consider the trade of Ireland. Five resolutions in favor of allowing certain relaxations were carried; but when a bill was brought in to give them effect, so great was the clamor of Liverpool, Glasgow, Manchester, and Bristol, that nothing remained of it but the permission to export to Africa and the West Indies all home products *except* wool, woollen and cotton goods, hats, glass, hops, gunpowder, and coals! . . .

"Lord North, alarmed, . . . cast his eyes on the Roman Catholics in hopes of finding a counterpoise to the mutinous Protestants. . . . In 1764 leave to bring in a bill to enable Roman Catholics to advance money on a mortgage of freeholds had been summarily rejected; and in 1771 *the magnificent concession was made to them of permission to hold long leases of fifty acres of bog for reclamation provided it was not within a mile of any city or town.* And now, in 1778, a more substantial act of justice was carried through: Roman Catholics, on taking the oath of allegiance, were to be allowed to hold a lease of 999 years. The lands which were still in their possession were made descendible, divisible, and alienable, like those of other subjects: and Protestant heirs were deprived of the privilege given them by the statute of Anne to plunder and defy their recusant fathers. . . ."

So much for a beginning of relief from the oppression of the Penal Laws. But, it was, seemingly, much harder to obtain a repeal of the trade-laws. An attempt made to repeal a clause of the Navigation Act forbidding the importation of sugar into Ireland, without its passing through England, was resisted by the English manufacturers, and defeated. John Bull's anti-Irish feelings was appealed to successfully. Then the Irish formed a league against the consumption of English goods, which attacked John Bull on his weak point—his pocket.

On October 12, 1779, Grattan successfully moved an amendment to the address, demanding "Free Trade," and Lord North had to yield. In April, 1780, the same Grattan moved that "the King with the consent of the Lords and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to enact laws to bind Ireland," and that "Great Britain and Ireland are inseparably united under one sovereign."

It was the first solemn demand for Home Rule. The demand was not then pressed. The Castle Party was too strong in the Irish Parliament. But the necessities of the country created the National Army. The Catholics, in all this, could only look on. They were still rigorously excluded from Parliament and all public life; they were UNEMANCIPATED.

Grattan, in 1782, again moved as an amendment to the address, a declaration of rights and grievances. Before the end of the year the English Parliament broke the shackles imposed under George I. on the Irish legislature; and this body itself hastened to repeal Poynings' Act. This was the first step on the road toward self-government.

In 1785, the National Party in Ireland once more demand the restoration of Grattan's Parliament.

The Volunteer Movement and the Parliamentary Reform Movement enlisted the active co-operation, as well as the deep sympathy, of the Catholic body, and led to the formation of the United Irishmen. The spirit of Nationality was abroad.

Then, in 1783, a renewed effort was made to remove the restrictions on Irish Trade and Manufactures. Pitt entered into the project. But the clamor and opposition were such in manufacturing England, that the measures introduced by Pitt into Parliament, unsatisfactory as they were, became, before they passed the House, but illusory. When the Bill came before the Irish Parliament it was only passed by a slender Government majority.

This struggle on Irish Trade and Manufactures gave birth in

England to the opinion that the Irish Parliament should be suppressed, lest Ireland should cease to be the mere slave of England. And the opinion became an accomplished fact on Jan. 1, 1800.

But there was a fearful interval to be passed over before this last date.

"In the south the Whiteboys had again (1784) appeared in Munster under the name of 'Rightboys'; an invisible Captain Right being the nominal head-centre like Ever Joyce and Captain Dwyer. The disorders were repetitions of what had gone before, and arose from the same causes. Government, *instead of removing the mischief* which culminated in the agrarian outrages of 1761, *stamped out the flames of lawlessness by coercion, and left the disease to grow and spread in silence* until a fresh outbreak was inevitable.

"The condition of the tenantry in Munster was very miserable. The rent of potato ground had risen to £6 an acre, which was paid in labor at the rate of sixpence a day. There was hardly an estate which was not let at a rack-rent, or even above its value. Even Fitzgibbon admitted in the House of Commons that, 'It was impossible for human wretchedness to exceed that of the miserable tenantry of that province,'—that 'they were ground to powder by relentless landlords,'—that 'they had not food and raiment for themselves, but the landlord grasped the whole,' and that 'they lived in a more abject state of poverty than human nature could be supposed able to bear.'

"Over and above the exactions of the landlords, the Church demanded tithe. The pasture land was exempted. Only the cultivable land bore the burthen. The wretched cottier's acre of potato ground had, in addition to the rent, hearth-money, smoke-money, and dues to the Roman Catholic priest, to pay from twelve shillings to twenty shillings to the rector for tithe. The beneficed clergy, with dwindling flocks, lived away absentee fashion, and drew their tithe-tribute as the absentee landlord drew his rack-rent; and, like him, to save the difficulty and risk of gathering it, farmed their tithes to a middleman, or collected it through the agency of a needy and unscrupulous tithe-proctor, who . . . made his profits by extracting the last penny from the unfortunate peasant. When the peasant could not pay, he took his bond, and charged him interest; and when the bond fell due he took his debtor's labor for nothing, and reduced him to little better than a slave.

"It was not surprising that the down-trodden wretches sought to help themselves by acts of violence. . . . Fitzgibbon's remedy was a terrific Coercion Bill; Grattan's a motion for a committee to inquire into the system of collecting tithes, with a plan for commuting the tithes for an annual charge calculated upon an average of years. The former passed into law. . . 'Laws of Coercion,' said Grattan, 'perhaps necessary, certainly severe, you have already put forth. But your great engine of power you have hitherto kept back—the engine which, armed with physical and moral blessing, comes forth and overlays mankind by services—*the engine of redress.*'"*

3. *Redress.*

Injury has been done to the land, as well as injustice to the people. This no one will contest. In the work of reparation deemed imperative and urgent by the foremost among statesmen, as well as by the civilized world,—let the first care be to heal the wounds of the land itself, to repair the wrong done to it by cruel neglect and ill-treatment, to restore and increase its vitality. Thereby you will be providing a noble and remunerative field for the laborer. This is Ireland's first and greatest need,—remunerative labor for all her hungry and idle toilers,—avenues to all kinds of industry for the activity of the educated talent of the present generation.

Heal the inveterate wounds inflicted on the soil of Ireland by the blind greed, the spendthrift recklessness, and the ruinous neglect of so many generations of landlords.

We Americans know from the wide-spread destruction caused by the inundations of 1884 along the course of the Ohio and the Mississippi, how needful are the precautions taken by the States border-ing these rivers to prevent the swollen waters from overflowing their banks periodically. The irreparable damage done within one twelvemonth accuses the supineness and shortsightedness both of the people themselves and of their magistrates.

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* "The Kingdom of Ireland," pp. 400–424 *passim.*

This affords us a starting point for estimating one of the greatest injuries done to the land in Ireland by the stupid carelessness of the landed proprietors, and by the stinginess and bungling of the Government. As to the Irish *people,*—the tillers of the soil,—they are in no wise accountable for the state of things I am going to describe: they are only the sufferers with the land itself.

The nature of the soil in Ireland, and the excessive humidity of the climate, render necessary, among other artificial precautions, an extensive and most careful system of DRAINAGE, arterial and local. In Belgium and Holland, where the greater part of the garden-like soil consisted, at first, of barren sands redeemed from the German Ocean,—the marvelous system of dykes and drains is an object of intense solicitude to the Government, and it is equally so to both the landed proprietors and their tenants. The latter, secured, as they are, in the tenure of their farms and in the enjoyment of every improvement they make in the soil itself and on it, do not spare their labor or their money to prevent their property from being injured by inundations. This is equally the case with the landlords, who by law or by custom are bound to see that everything on the land is in perfect order.

In Ireland even the landlords who can will not drain the lands they let out; few indeed, comparatively, are those who ever attempt to make any improvements at all on their property. Yet, in the southern and western counties of Ireland, especially, the utmost care and labor are required to counteract the effects of the excessive rainfall. If the Irish tenant felt secure in his holding, if his landlord showed, practically, that he was equally interested with his farmer in improving the land and enabling it to yield to the utmost, the tenant would not hesitate to take on himself, by degrees,—even though the landlord did not help him, the labor and expense of draining his farm.

But,—you will ask,—why does he not do so now, since the land-law of 1881 gives him the required security in his holding?—The peremptory answer is,—that the benefits of this law have been rendered almost nugatory by the action of the Land Commissioners' Courts to whom the adjustment of all difficulties between landlords and tenants was intrusted. There is, at this moment, very little more security for the agricultural class in Ireland than existed before 1880.

We repeat, therefore, the words of the most considerate and conscientious writer, who has, of late years, treated of all these vexed Irish questions. "There can be no doubt," says Count Murphy, "that if the Irish farmer enjoyed a secure tenure, defeasible only by non-payment of rent—if, in fact, he felt he was laboring for himself—he not only would thoroughly till his land, but he would avail of Government aid for drainage purposes, borrowing, under the Land Improvement Acts, money, to be repaid, principal and interest, in twenty-two annual instalments of 6½ per cent.; or, better still, if a desirable modification of the Act were carried out, in thirty-five annual instalments of 5 per cent.

"This double improvement—thorough culture and local drainage, in conjunction with complete arterial drainage—would rapidly carry off the superfluous water, which now lies so long, in wet seasons, on low, flat lands, and would greatly diminish the evaporative surface; thus considerably ameliorating the climate, and vastly improving the agriculture of the country.

. . . "In several districts of the country, undrained and badly farmed, with the land saturated and a low temperature, in wet summers, it is impossible for the plant, chilled in a cold soil, to attain its normal growth; and hence these districts are but too generally characterized by inferior cereals and root crops, and sour, innutritious pasture. . . . The difference between drained and undrained lands has been, not inaptly, compared to the contrast presented by the state of a man enjoying full reaction after a healthy cold bath, and the condition of a traveler obliged to sit for hours in wet clothes, thoroughly chilled. In the one case there has been a brief, invigorating immersion, followed by a glow; in the other case, a protracted, thorough drenching, abstracting animal heat, and lowering the vital powers.

. . . "As things are, it is painful to witness, in many parts of Ireland, how much suffering and poverty are entailed on individuals and whole districts, what valuable resources for the production of food for the community lie all but useless, and what serious loss and injury, material and moral, accrue to the British Empire, for the want of that judicious application of labor and capital, which would change cold, ungrateful soils into rich tracts, blooming with fertility, and convert a poor, half-idle, and discontented population into comfortable and contented productive laborers. The Irish complain, and certainly with reason, that whilst millions of the public money are expended on other parts of the United Kingdom, those great works which only Government can deal with, such as the deepening of river beds, and the arterial drainage of large districts, are nearly altogether neglected in Ireland, where there is so much work of the kind to be done." *

It is sad to think, that while England is expending on an expedition into the interior of Egypt so much money and so much of her best blood,—the thirty millions sterling this "wild goose chase" is likely to cost her, would have more than sufficed to settle the Land Question for ever in Ireland. It would have enabled the Board of Works to carry out on every point of the island that system of arterial drainage, which, begun by incompetent and unskilful engineers, has only helped to extend instead of narrowing the area annually flooded by the Shannon and its affluents. It would have established all round the Irish coast a prosperous fishing population, with piers, harbors of refuge, and excellent deep-sea fishing craft, such as the generous liberality of Lady Burdett-Coutts has given to Baltimore and the Cape Clear Islands. What a mine of wealth is there! And how surely the imperial treasury would receive back

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* "Ireland Industrial, Political, and Social," pp. 89, 90.

every shilling thus expended, and receive as well the blessings and gratitude of the warm Irish heart!

Instead,—what has Government done to drain the inundated districts in Ireland, and help to make of the island, what it ought to be and is by nature,—fertile, productive, a land of plenty throughout its length and breadth?

The area drained by the Shannon and its tributaries—the Suck, the Inny, and the Fergus—comprises 6,060 square miles, nearly one-fifth of the surface of the island. A first survey was ordered by Government in 1831, and made in 1832. It advised the construction of a weir across the Shannon at Killaloe, where Lough Derg empties itself into that river. The weir was to be of such height as to insure a uniform depth of water in the Lake itself, and an overflow of *six* feet over the sill of the lock at Killaloe. The plans and drawings left no room for misconception or doubt. Yet the engineers who constructed the weir took on themselves to alter its height, so as to give it six feet nine inches in height, and seven feet in some parts,—thereby preventing the water from ever sinking below seven feet on the sill, and throwing six inches of water out over thousands of acres of land, which would be above water if the engineer had adhered to the plan and to his instructions.

Moreover, as the report of Mr. Rhodes, who made the survey and prepared the original plans, indicates, "the widening and deepening of the channel at Killaloe has not been completed either to the breadth or depth delineated on the Parliamentary maps; a breadth of one hundred feet on the Tipperary side remains there still not cut away, and a depth of six feet remains in the bottom towards the same side not yet excavated."

"Next," continues Count Murphy, "with a view of maintaining the height of water deemed necessary for steam navigation on the Shannon, between Carrick-on-Shannon and Killaloe, one hundred and ten miles in dry summer weather, six great stone weir-walls were erected, and in none of these was there any sluice or flood-gate to let off surplus water."

The consequence of this gross neglect or stupidity in the constructors, is that "almost every year small floods occur which cover the low portions of the lands, and saturate the remainder, rendering them unfit for pasture, and making it very difficult to get a hay crop dried."

Great autumnal floods inundate 16,299 acres of arable pasture and meadow land. Great winter floods every year cover 20,825 acres of arable, meadow, and pasture land, damaging annually 23,945 acres of land in a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. About 40,000 are damaged by winter floods on the river Suck.

To remedy all this it is estimated that an expenditure of £143,920 would suffice. The improvements in drainage made along twenty-three of the streams tributary to the Shannon, throw the additional flow of water thereby caused to fall into the Shannon Valley, while no improvements have been made in the outlets of the Shannon itself to meet this great influx of water from 1,690,000 acres of land.

"Here, after a lapse of five-and-thirty years," says Count Murphy, writing in 1869, "the plan then determined on is yet incomplete, the inundation and saturation of the land, for one hundred and fifty miles along the banks of the river, continue; nay, are worse than before the great stone weir-walls were erected, and before the increased waters of twenty-three tributaries . . . were turned into the channel of the Shannon! A comparatively small amount was the estimate of what was required to set matters so far right; and while millions of the public money have been expended on Holyhead, Portland, and other parts of England,—all, no doubt, most important and most useful public works,—nothing has been done in this which must be characterized as a great imperial and not a mere local undertaking. . . .

"Within a few weeks the 'Times' Commissioner has alluded to similar evils, arising from a like cause, on the banks of the Barrow. As he proceeds he will meet many districts to which the same remarks apply. Let us hope that, the land question once settled, this, the next most important subject—the thorough arterial drainage of

Ireland—will engage the attention of Government and the Legislature." *

This is what the English Parliament has done with the land of Ireland. Now let us read the last chapter of English misrule in the last century.

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* "Ireland Industrial, Political, and Social," pp. 96, 97.

IV.

THE END OF THE PENAL LAWS AND THE TRIUMPH OF COERCION AND CORRUPTION (1794–1800).

A MEMORABLE event, in so far especially as Ireland is concerned, was the coalition formed in the summer of 1794, by the moderate Whigs with William Pitt. Foremost among the coalitionists were Lord Fitzwilliam and Edmund Burke,—both Irishmen, and both bent on obtaining from the British Parliament a full measure of justice for their native country, and in particular for the disfranchised Catholics. They were both for the total emancipation of the latter; for granting them liberty to sit in parliament; liberty to become members of the corporations; and liberty to bear arms.

They had to count on the desperate resistance of the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland, and on the opposition of the great landlord interest and the Established Church in England. These, when emancipation was proposed, would be sure to combine and to act with perfect unity of purpose.

Pitt acted with duplicity. Even then he had conceived the idea of suppressing Irish nationality altogether. And the question is whether he did not encourage Burke and Fitzwilliam to lead "a forlorn hope," knowing they could not carry the stronghold defended by British interest and Protestant bigotry.

Lord Fitzwilliam was sent to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, and allowed to believe that he had *carte blanche* to carry out the necessary reforms. He landed at Dublin, January 4, 1795, amid the acclamations of a delighted people, who had been made aware of his purpose

EDMUND BURKE.

AFTER THE PICTURE BY G ROMNEY

(Fitzgibbon) was stoned, one missile wounding him in the head. Torrents of Irish, of innocent blood were destined to atone for that one wound.

Grattan's emancipation bill was lost. Protestant Ascendancy was victorious all along the line.

The United Irishmen of Wolfe Tone had been suppressed. But the sudden defeat of the nation's hopes, turned men away from legal and constitutional paths, into the dark ways of secret societies. That of the United Irishmen speedily covered the land with a network of branches, all organized on a military plan. In Ulster the terrible struggle between the Protestant "Peep-o'-day Boys" and the Catholic "Defenders" assumed the proportions of a civil war. The former took it on themselves to disarm their Catholic neighbors, and to search their houses by night for arms of every description. The latter, irritated and driven to madness by the wanton outrages and unauthorized action of their adversaries, organized themselves into a self-protecting association.

Then sprang up Orangeism, into which entered the great body of the northern gentlemen, and whose baneful existence down to this very day has been marked with bloodshed and the fiercest intolerance.

"This organization grew rapidly. It acted promptly and with terrible effect. It declared war against the Defenders, *and openly professed as its object the complete expulsion of all Roman Catholics from Ulster*. The Roman Catholics were attacked indiscriminately. Masters were compelled to dismiss Roman Catholic servants, landlords to dismiss Roman Catholic tenants. Decent farmers, quiet peasants, hard-working weavers, quite unconnected with the Defenders, received notices 'to go to Hell; Connaught would not receive them.' Their houses were burnt, their furniture broken up, and they and their families driven from their holdings.

"Lord Gosford, the Governor of Armagh County, in addressing the magistrates at quarter sessions in December, 1795, publicly declared that 'neither age, nor sex, nor even acknowledged innocence as to any guilt in the late disturbances is sufficient to excite mercy, much less to afford protection. The only crime which the objects of this ruthless persecution are charged with, is simply a profession of the Roman Catholic religion. A lawless banditti have constituted themselves judges of this new species of delinquency, and the sentence they have pronounced is nothing less than a confiscation of all property and an immediate banishment. . . ." No protection could be obtained from the magistrates, whose sympathies were all with the Orangemen, and of whom many were themselves members of Orange Lodges.

"General Henry Luttrell, Lord Carhampton, had been sent into the West to suppress the Defenders. . . . The gaols were full of persons awaiting their trial. Carhampton preceded the judges of assize with his troops, and, without any form of trial or under any warrant, drew out the prisoners and sent them on board a tender, which sailed along the coast to receive them, and shipped them on board the British fleet for compulsory naval service. The local magistrates followed his example, arresting and transporting without a pretence of legality. *Upwards of a thousand persons* were the victims of this aristocratic press-gang." *

It was simply *extermination* on a limited scale. And these acts were covered by a bill of indemnity, passed in January, 1796!

Of course all this was planned and executed under directions from the Castle. The Castle also, as was natural, obtained from its docile Parliament a COERCION ACT. Let us see how this Government, which, but yesterday, was all professions of kindness and long-deferred justice toward the poor oppressed Irish people, meant to coerce them, while allowing the Orangemen to terrorize over the north and depopulate it.

"All persons convicted of administering unlawful oaths for seditious purposes should suffer death as felons; all persons taking such oaths should be transported; all persons should be compelled to register the arms in their possession under penalties of fine and imprisonment; magistrates might break into and enter houses to search for arms, might apprehend strangers and examine them on oath, and commit them to the house of correction till they could find sureties for their good behavior. It gave power to the Viceroy to proclaim counties which the magistrates reported to him were in a state of disturbance. In a proclaimed county the inhabitants were commanded to keep within doors between sunset and sunrise, under pain of being brought before the justices, who were thereupon empowered, unless they were satisfied with the reasons given for such person being abroad, at once to send him to serve on board the British navy. . . . Persons who could not prove that they either had means of their own, or 'industriously followed some lawful trade or employment,' were liable to the same penalties.

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* "Ireland Industrial, Political, and Social."

"This 'bloody code,' as Curran called it, passed into law with little opposition. Even Grattan's effort to obtain the insertion of a special reference to the insurgent Orangemen and a clause to enable the ruined peasants and weavers of Armagh to obtain compensation from the county, was summarily rejected. Lord Edward Fitzgerald was the only person who had courage to vote against the Government.

"The United Irishmen now rapidly increased in number. The ignorant Defenders . . . were swept into their ranks. The persecuted Roman Catholics of Armagh, Down, and Louth, hopeless of protection from the law, turned to this daring association for redress. The disappointed Roman Catholics of the middle classes in Dublin were infected with the same spirit. Even some of the advanced and ardent reformers in Parliament itself, having lost all hope of constitutional reform, took the desperate and fatal resolution of appealing to force and the enemies of England. . . ." *

The fury of the elements alone preserved Ireland from Hoche's fleet and formidable army. Providence also, to whom Ireland had looked up with undoubting faith all through the long, long night of her humiliation and sorrow, did not want the seeds of the French

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* "Kingdom of Ireland," ch. xv.

impiety to be sown broadcast over a soil watered by the tears and hallowed by the blood of so many generations of His believers.

But the nation was to be held responsible and to be punished still more atrociously for the French attempt at invasion. The *Habeas Corpus* was suspended by act of Parliament; and early in 1797 General Lake was sent into Tyrone with an army all too ready to exterminate a people of brothers. The gaols were filled with thousands of the suspected. "Spies and informers were the only witnesses, and of these the Government had a whole army in its pay. . . . Worst of all, no discipline was maintained amongst the soldiery, who were allowed to commit all kinds of excesses, and to abuse and maltreat the people. The yeomanry, which had been called out, *was composed almost entirely of Orangemen*, and these, with militia regiments sent over from England, were encouraged to play havoc with the miserable inhabitants of the proclaimed counties. A Welsh mounted yeomanry corps called the Ancient Britons, under the command of Sir Watkins Williams Wynne, were especially notorious for their brutal violence. Houses were plundered and burned, women outraged, and children brutally ill-treated and murdered. Men were seized and sent on board tenders untried. They were flogged, 'picketed,' and half-hung, to extort confessions as to the existence of concealed arms. They were hunted down and sabred. Villages and whole districts were devastated, and the inhabitants turned out of their homes into the ditch." *

Men and women—few indeed—are still living, on whose eyes in childhood fell the flames of these lurid fires, and whose families were involved in these unmerited calamities. Are these dreadful traditions never to cease among our race?

So,—the armies of Cromwell found worthy imitators in those of Lake. . . .

Grattan and his noble supporters, though sick at heart, would not give up the hope of saving the country from the threatened extermination, and obtaining for the Irish Catholics some show of substantial justice. "They had taken the bold step of discovering from some of the leaders of the United Irishmen what measure of reform would content them; and the latter, sobered by the failure of the expedition to Bantry, declared that the following concessions would satisfy them: namely,—a full representation of the people of Ireland, without any religious distinction, based upon a property qualification, which the Parliament should determine; equal electoral districts, containing each 6,000 houses and returning two members; and provisions that Roman Catholics should be equally eligible with Protestants for seats in the House of Commons and all offices of State. This, they distinctly averred, would put an end to the agitation; and Ponsonby accordingly prepared a bill and moved a series of resolutions on reform embodying these very reasonable heads. But the House of Commons was now the mere tool of the Government. . . On the division but 30 went into the Opposition lobby; 170 voted with the Castle."

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* "Kingdom of Ireland," ch. xvii.

On reading over "these very reasonable heads," and comparing them with the measures either brought in by the Gladstone Government and those insisted on by the National Party,—how is it possible not to be struck with the judicial blindness which prevents men in power from granting in time what must at length be conceded, but only when the concession comes TOO LATE?

"A full representation of the people of Ireland; equal electoral districts": this was only to come at the close of 1884. If granted in 1797, together with the other necessary measures since wrung, one by one, from English statesmen,—how many crimes, how much misery, would have been spared to Ireland?

Coercion will never overawe the Celtic nature. Injustice maddens it. Kindness, at any time, will disarm it. Lake's ferocious soldiery, backed by Wynne's Welsh savages, and the sanguinary hypocrites of the Orange Lodges, could not quell the spirit of the Celt. He was unarmed, or armed only with the clumsiest weapons; but he would not allow his dear ones to be murdered and outraged before his eyes, without casting himself against the steel of the oppressor.

"The numbers of the United Irishmen received an enormous increase. The persecution drove the lukewarm into their ranks, and converted them into earnest sympathizers. At the same time the half-stifled disaffection assumed a more dangerous character. The cruelties of the troops produced acts of retaliation. Isolated murders became frequent. Magistrates were fired at, and sometimes killed. Plots were laid by desperate fanatics for assassinating the obnoxious members of the executive, especially Lord Carhampton, the commander-in-chief, who was the object of the most bitter detestation. The agents of the society were working hard to disseminate their political doctrines and to enlist members. Fresh communications were opened with France. Hoche was still enthusiastic, and Tone still hopeful."

We must not enter into the details of the horrible Tragedy which filled, in Ireland, what remained of the year 1797, and the whole of 1798. The awful corruption by which William Pitt and Dublin Castle bought up the Irish Parliament and consummated the long-cherished project of the Legislative Union of both countries, is, in reality, only the last act in this Drama.

It is time, however, that the civilized world should lift up its voice and cry Shame! on that same Dublin Castle, that synonym with every species of political crime,—oppression, fraud, rapacity, and corruption,—with every form of moral infamy that can provoke the loathing of earth and Heaven.

"They had (in 1797) spies everywhere, even amongst the most trusted leaders. . . . They held in their pay, not the farmers and shopkeepers who composed the rank and file (of the United Irishmen), but the broken-down gentlemen, the briefless barristers, the spendthrift militia officers, who joined the association for the purpose of betraying it. One of the informers, McGucken, was the solicitor to the Society at Belfast. He received (from the Castle) a pension of £150 a year and the sum of £1,450 in cash. Leonard McNally, the barrister who appeared for them in Crown prosecutions, received a pension of £300 a year. Nicholas Magnan of Saintfield was a member of the county and provincial committees, and regularly betrayed their plans through a third party. John Hughes, a bookseller of Belfast, was repeatedly arrested and imprisoned along with other members of the society, in order to disarm suspicion, and to learn their secrets in the character of a fellow-victim. But the arch-traitors of all were Thomas Reynolds of Kilkea Castle in the county of Kildare, who was Tone's wife's brother-in-law; and Captain Armstrong of Ballycumber, an officer in the Kings County militia; who, on becoming members, deliberately wormed their way into the families of the chief conspirators, received their hospitality, and eat their salt, in order that they might betray them. Reynolds received the sum of £5,000 and a pension of £1,000 a year, as the reward of his share in the dirty work, and Armstrong a pension of £500.

"But besides these men, and others who had information to give, there was a motley crowd of informers, *Major Sirr's Gang,* as Mr. Secretary Cooke calls them, who lived upon the Government. It was their daily bread to keep the Castle well plied with stories of conspiracy and insurrection. They exaggerated, they distorted, they invented words and actions often of innocent men—sometimes to earn their reward, sometimes to gratify some personal spite. *These were the men into whose hands the Government committed the lives, liberties, and reputations of Irishmen;* of whom Lord Moira said, in the Irish House of Lords, 'That he shuddered to think that such wretches should find employment or protection under any Government.'"*

People, in perusing these details, will be carried forward to the events occurring at the present day, and ask themselves if Dublin Castle, like History, is not constantly repeating itself, so much do its men and methods in the last quarter of the nineteenth century resemble those whose infamy stands out so conspicuously among the rascally generation ruled by them toward the end of the eighteenth.

Sir Ralph Abercromby, an honest and manly soldier, had been sent by the English Government to replace Luttrell, whose high-handed cruelty was denounced by both Houses of Parliament in England. We need only read his own letters to see to what a condition of despair or frenzy the British troops had reduced the country populations. The local magistrates had everywhere been encouraged by the Castle officials to require the presence of the military on the first signs or suspicions of disaffection in their neighborhood. "They had been billeted upon private houses and permitted to live in complete license upon the people, *and expressly ordered to act in their own discretion without waiting for the direction of the civil authorities*. . . . 'Within less than two months,' writes Abercromby, 'a private man has thrown a chair at the colonel of his regiment, when sent for to be reprimanded. Houses have been burnt, men murdered, others half-hanged. A young lady has been carried off by a detachment of dragoons. . . . These are but a few of the enormities which have disgraced us of late: were the whole to be collected. what a picture would it present! . . . *Within these twelve months every crime, every cruelty, that could be committed by Cossacks or Calmucks,* has been committed here. . . . The way in which the troops have been employed would ruin the best in Europe.'"

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* "Kingdom of Ireland," pp. 473, 474.

There were 35,000 yeomanry under arms. To be sure, they were mainly composed of Orangemen, or such as favored the principles and practices of the Lodges. General Abercromby wished to keep his troops distinct from these; and not to have the reputation of the army tarnished by the lawlessness and ferocity of these partisans. It was too late. The mischief had been done. And the general orders prescribing strict military discipline, and the violation of the civil law, save in presence and under the direction of the civil magistrate, were distasteful to the soldiers, and no less so to the Castle officials.

"The Ascendancy party, the stern fanatic Clare, the grasping Beresford, the affrighted Foster, the supple sycophant Cooke, the mercenary Archbishop Agar, the ribald heartless Toler, were furious at the issue of the order. They had clamored for Martial Law, and were enjoying the free exercise of its privileges; *they were recklessly driving the disaffected into open revolt, in order that they might have* *the excuse for crushing them effectually.* John Beresford had said, in the House of Commons, that 'he wished they were in rebellion to meet them face to face.' Lord Camden afterwards admitted, in the English House of Lords, that 'the measures of the Government caused the rebellion to break out sooner than it otherwise would.'"

They made the situation intolerable to Abercromby. He resigned, and the command was given to the sanguinary Lake. "Lord Camden's Government had it all their own way. The old system of free quarters was continued; Leinster was dragooned like Ulster; the houses of the peasantry were burning in all directions. In Carlow, in Kildare, in Wicklow, their owners were chased away and shot down by the soldiers; and men were flogged and 'picketed' at the whim of any magistrate or officer, in order to compel them to disclose concealed arms. No man was safe; *shopkeeper and artisan equally had their backs cut to the bone; farmer and laborer were equally tortured on the pointed stake.* The United Irishmen were believed to have cut their hair short for distinction's sake; and when the soldiers found a 'croppy,' as they called him, they smeared his head with pitch and crowned him with a cap of strong brown paper, which could not be removed without lacerating the scalp. *To wear Green, the national color, even if the wearer was a lady, was a certain means of insuring insult and outrage.* . . . The innocent were tortured with the guilty. . . . One of the nationalist newspapers published the following: '*Receipt to make a Rebel.* Take a loyal subject, uninfluenced by title, place, or pension; burn his house over his head; let the soldiery exercise every species of insult and barbarity towards his helpless family, and march away with the plunder of every part of his property they choose to save from the flames.'"*

Of course, the rising, insurrection, rebellion,—or by whatever other name you choose to designate this agonized writhing of a nation's frame when placed on the red-hot gridiron, over the blazing fire,—occurred just as the Castle officials (shall we also add William

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* "Kingdom of Ireland," ch. xviii.

Pitt?) wanted it? They had been sowing Dragon's teeth most industriously and skilfully: was it a wonder that from the laboring soil sprang up armed—no! not armed, but maddened men, who cared not what form of death they had to brave or to inflict, so that they had revenge on their oppressors?

Let us weigh all these things well. Is it not time that Ireland's sufferings, Ireland's incredible wrongs should be weighed in the scales of calm, impartial Justice?

Of the struggle itself of 1798, it were worse than idle to give a history. There was and could be, under the circumstances, no concerted action. The Government was minutely informed of all the leaders' plans; and they sprang the mine they had been preparing exactly when it suited their purpose to do so.

"The risings in the south and in the north," says Mr. Walpole, "were very different in character. The misguided people who had proceeded to camp out at Ballinahinch, were principally respectable small farmers, and artisans and clerks from the neighboring towns. They were all dressed in their Sunday clothes, and appear to have conducted themselves very respectably. In Meath, Kildare, and Carlow the outbreak at once assumed a religious shape. The bands of insurgents were largely composed of the lawless Defenders, who had already been scouring the country for months; and these were joined by the disaffected Roman Catholics in the town and surrounding country. *The Orange Yeomanry Corps had been at free quarters in all the villages for weeks; and Orangeman and Protestant . . . were convertible terms.* Accordingly, during the six or seven days during which these districts were at the mercy of the rebels, the harmless Protestant inhabitants who dwelt therein were set upon, and numbers of them were murdered. It is, however, noticeable that neither in this part of the country nor in Wexford, where the rising was really of a formidable character, were the insurgents guilty of the crime of rape in addition to the crime of homicide. . . .

"Wexford was the last county which was converted by the United Irishmen. Its population was one of the most industrious and contented in Ireland. The reports coming from the neighboring counties of the cruelties of the Orange Yeomanry, and the sight of batches of men condemned untried to transportation, passing daily through the country to Duncannon Fort, created a spirit of disaffection. . . .

"At length the dragooning came home to the people themselves. Wexford was proclaimed. The North Cork militia were quartered in the principal towns, and the whole country was delivered over to the Yeomanry. Ross, Gorey, Carnew, Enniscorthy, became the head-quarters of Lynch-law. The magistrates ordered the seizure, imprisonment, and flogging of persons suspected of possessing arms. Houses were burnt, 'croppies' were pitch-capped, and peasants were shot on the roads, or at work in the fields. So great was the terror of the country folk, and so general the belief that the Orangemen were bent on their extermination, that they forsook their homes in the night, and slept in the ditches."

And all this in a county where not a single act of disturbance had occurred, and in which not a single branch of the Society of United Irishmen had been established! Shall we be surprised to see presently the Priests rise with their persecuted flocks and turn boldly on the wolves bent on exterminating them?

But one or two instances will enlighten the reader about those methods used to drive the people into rebellion, to madden them rather, and fill them with a blind and reckless fury.

"Anthony Perry—who was afterwards one of the chief among the rebel leaders, and hanged at Edenderry in the Kings County,—was a Protestant gentleman of property, and having listened to the United Irish, had been thrown into prison at Gorey on suspicion. He seems to have repented his misconduct, and to have given the Government valuable information, but was treated in prison with the utmost brutality. Among other acts of severity, a sergeant of the North Cork militia—nicknamed, from his inventive cruelty, 'Tom-the-Devil,'—cut away all his hair quite close to the head, and having rubbed gunpowder well into the stubble, burned out all the roots of it with a candle. Upon being let out of gaol on the eve of the rising, he found the Yeomanry had sacked his house; and burning with indignation, he immediately joined the rebels.

"Joseph Holt's was a similar case. He was a respectable farmer in South Wicklow. . . . He took no interest in politics and had no connection with the United Irishmen. He had, however, given offence to a neighbor by pressing him for a debt; and this person out of spite gave information to a company of the Fermanagh militia. . . . Holt, on coming back from his day's work, found his house a smoking ruin, his effects pillaged, and his wife and family turned into the ditch. He himself fled for his life into the Wicklow mountains, and in the outbreak which shortly followed, became the desperate leader of a band of insurgents."

The Father John Murphy, who commanded the principal body of insurgents at Vinegar Hill, had seen his parishioners subjected to the unnamable atrocities committed by the Yeomanry; he had seen his own house with his church burned by these fiends incarnate, and had cast his lot with his people, driven out of house and home, and threatened with extermination. It probably never was his intention to fire a shot or lift a violent hand against living being. But insurrections are like swollen streams in spring-tide and carry along both the man who swims with the current and the man who resists it.

The presence of the Priests in this rising to which the poor people were driven by systematic provocation and the cruelties above described, would have been a restraint upon the maddened masses in their headlong rage. They were, happily or unhappily, too few to control the rude, wild elements set in motion by Fitzgibbon and his associates.

And how the Government with its army, yeomanry, and militia,—and with the mock-justice of its courts-martial and its State Trials,—did stamp out the fire it had so industriously kindled all over the land!

"The brutality of the militia and yeomanry had been bad enough before the outbreak: now that the rising was crushed, their ferocity knew no bounds. . . . When the rebels fled from Vinegar Hill, their hospital at Enniscorthy was burnt, and the wounded shot as they lay there in their beds. The same scene was repeated at Wexford. The soldiers, especially a regiment of imported Hessians, scoured the country, shooting all whom they came across, outraging women, destroying the Roman Catholic chapels, and completing the general desolation by plundering and burning the remaining homesteads. Loyalist and rebel suffered alike indiscriminately, without even the benefit of a court-martial. There was no stay to inquire whether the victim were friend or foe. . . . The local magistrates who had fled before the storm, returned to resume the old coercive system, and to wreak their vengeance upon the inhabitants."

The atrocities committed by General Lake and his myrmidons had served the purpose of the Castle officials and fulfilled to the highest the wishes of the Orange faction. As public feeling began to cool down in England, and the doings of the army and the volunteers began to be read calmly, all these indiscriminate massacres of defenceless prisoners and unoffending peasants provoked a reaction in public opinion. Lake was superseded by Lord Cornwallis of American fame. He was, like Abercromby, a brave and upright soldier, who abhorred cruelty as he detested duplicity. "On his arrival at the Castle he was shocked at the sanguinary spirit with which he found the Ascendancy imbued. 'The principal persons of this country,' he writes, 'and the members of both Houses of Parliament are, in general, averse to all acts of clemency, . . . and would pursue measures that could only terminate *in the extermination* of the greater number of the inhabitants, and in the utter destruction of the country. The words *Papists* and *Priests* are for ever in their mouths, and by their unaccountable policy would drive four-fifths of the community into irreconcilable rebellion.'"

Yes—to 'drive four-fifths of the community into rebellion,' and then to 'pursue measures that could only end in the extermination of the greater number of the inhabitants'—such is, as the nineteenth century is about to dawn on the world, the policy in favor at Dublin

Castle, with the Protestant Ascendancy, with the Irish Landlords who sit in both Houses of Parliament in College Green.

"In speaking of the reckless refusal of quarter by the troops, Lord Cornwallis says, 'I am sure that a very small portion of them (the rebels) only could be killed in battle, and I am much afraid that any man with a brown coat who is found within several miles of the field of action is butchered without discrimination.' And on July 24th he writes to General Ross: 'The whole country is in such a state that I feel frightened and ashamed whenever I consider that I am looked upon as being the head of it. Except in the instances of the six State trials that are going on here, there is no law either in town or country but martial law; and you know enough of that to see all the horrors of it, even in the best administration of it. Judge, then, how it must be conducted by Irishmen heated with passion and revenge. But all this is trifling compared to the numberless murders committed by our people without any process of examination whatever. The yeomanry are in the style of the loyalists in America, only much more numerous and powerful, and a thousand times more ferocious. These men have saved the country, but they now take the lead in rapine and murder. The Irish militia with few officers, and those generally of the worst kind, follow closely on the heels of the yeomanry in murder and every kind of atrocity. . . . The feeble outrages, burnings, and murders, which are still committed by the rebels, serve to keep up the sanguinary disposition on our side. . . . The conversation of the principal persons of the country all tends to encourage the system of blood; and the conversation even at my table, where you will suppose I do all I can to prevent it, always turns on hanging, shooting, burning, &c.; and if a priest has been put to death the greatest joy is expressed by the whole company. So much for Ireland, and my wretched situation.'"

Here we rest our case, leaving the verdict to the indignation of mankind.

V.

THE CONCLUSION.

TO England, to her Parliament, and her People, I now address myself in presence of the civilized world.

Your conscience, your honor, your interests alike demand that you should take in hand promptly and unhesitatingly the reparation of the enormous and manifold injustice which both the Parliament and the People of England in the past committed toward the sister island.

Conscience, honor, and interest are concerned in making of Ireland

A Field of Profitable and Contented Labor for Irishmen.

For seven hundred years Englishmen have, in one way or another, impoverished and ruined Ireland. They have destroyed the stately forests which once covered the island. They have ravaged it repeatedly with fire and sword in its length and breadth. They have again and again depopulated it by exterminating man and beast. They have impoverished the soil by allowing its plough-lands to remain for long periods uncultivated and uncared for. They have neglected, in violation of all the laws of intelligent husbandry, to restore fertility to the exhausted soil, to reclaim the waste lands, to maintain or increase the productiveness of the most fertile districts. Century after century, the landlords to whom the arbitrary decrees of the British Parliament gave the inheritance of the Celt and Anglo-Irish Catholic, have treated Ireland as the South-Sea islander does the fruit trees near his door,—cut them down to get at their fruit.

The Irish landlords have rack-rented their poor tenants-at-will, year after year, without caring or inquiring whether the harvest was bountiful or scarce, or whether there was a harvest at all; whether the natural fertility of their lands was increased or destroyed by the methods of culture employed; whether the farmer fared well or ill, or whether he and his farm-laborers with their families were housed like the savage, or left to starve in the winter.

And so the land deteriorated with each successive year; and so the tillers of the soil, generation after generation, suffered from extreme poverty, physical and mental degeneracy. But of all that the landlords recked not, provided their rents were paid up to the last farthing.

It behoves you now, at length, to make the land fruitful for the laborers; to give them an interest in it; to make them, on the soil on which they were born and grew up, something better than the weeds which are torn up by the roots in autumn and cast over the stile on the roadside.

Encourage them to look upon it as in some way their own, to cultivate it with love; to bestow their labor and their gains in making it fruitful, in beautifying it, in creating on it civilized and happy homes.

God knows they have sowed in tears long enough on the land of their birth, to be rewarded by reaping in joy!

Little or nothing has been done, up to this Year of Grace 1885, to make this dear old land of Ireland really fruitful,—to make it a profitable field of labor for the millions who call it their native land,—to make them contented to spend their lives in cultivating it and developing its manifold resources.

Nothing, in very truth, had been done until the Land-Law of 1870 came to inspire the Irish farmers with a beginning of hope. It effected but little good, however, besides exciting hopes in the hearts of the despairing masses.

What good has the Land-Law of 1881 achieved? It is sad to have to answer: Little or nothing.

In itself, as well as in the designs of its author, a magnificent boon far surpassing in importance anything ever bestowed on Ireland by an English Parliament,—it would have been hailed with rapture and gratitude by the Irish people, had it not been heralded by the most odious Coercion Act known in the dark annals of Irish misery. Before insulting the nation with this atrocious Crimes' Act, the impulsive Prime Minister did not stop to ask the Irish Bishops and the political leaders of Ireland, whether or not the horrible crimes committed in Dublin or elsewhere were the legitimate offspring of the teaching of the former or of the principles of the latter. Both prelates, priests, and politicians would have answered, that these deeds of blood were only the natural consequences of a hatred and a despair begotten by an oppression to which there had been, so far, no let-up.

The men to whom was committed the practical carrying out of that act, were almost to a man taken from the landlord class and imbued with all the passions and prejudices of that class. Besides, in an evil hour, the enemies of the Irish tenantry managed to tack on to the land act valuation clauses, which they knew—and they boasted of it—would enable the land commissioners and their courts to neutralize all the beneficent purposes of the legislator.

The Irish people to whom this Land Act was given together with the Crimes' Act,—just as you kick a famished dog while throwing him a bone,—had too keen a sense of self-respect to thank Mr. Gladstone then. Four years have elapsed, and they have discovered to their intense disappointment that, thanks to the Land Courts, the Act of 1881, which was destined to create a peasant-proprietary class in Ireland, was like the fair fruits which grow on the shores of the Dead Sea, nothing but ashes and bitterness in the mouth.

In February, 1885, there are formidable symptoms of a land-agitation more dangerous than that of 1879–80.

It is for you, Ministers and Legislators of England, to see to it that the people of Ireland shall find certain and secure means of a livelihood in their native country.

The Land-Law of 1881 is excellent. Its administration is detestable. Place in the land-courts men who are in sympathy with the people; men of incorruptible integrity, to whose conscience no landlord need fear to leave the decision of his just claims; men who know the people and the land, and who will judge rightly, because incapable of doing otherwise.

Let your legislation declare, that where the toil and industry of the tenant has created the very soil he tills and made the land fruitful,—he must be, at least in part, its owner; that where the season is such as not to allow the harvest to ripen, or when the crop is destroyed by blight,—the landlord shall not demand from his tenant the equivalent of the lost harvest or crop.

Compel by your legislation both landlord and tenant to take a like and a joint interest in increasing the productiveness of the soil, to build substantial and comfortable habitations upon it for all who till it. A wise and a fatherly Government will labor to establish in Ireland what exists in every civilized country known to us, a friendly feeling and a community of interest between landlord and tenant; between the farmer and his laborers.

Legislators of England, remember that you it was, who created an almost impassable gulf of hatred in Ireland between the proprietors and the tillers of the soil, between Protestant and Catholic. Do you ever reflect that you are under an obligation to bridge over that gulf, to unite in kindly feeling, brotherly love, and hearty co-operation for the common weal the classes your own laws have so long divided and set against each other? Vain are all your Coercion and Crimes' Acts, your armies of Police and Detectives, your partisan judges and your packed juries, to stop agrarian crime and suppress Secret Societies.

Once for all, regulate the relations between landlord and tenant; help to establish between them the ties of gratitude and respect in the latter resulting from generous liberality in the former. So long as we hear of the cruel scenes of eviction which are taking place on the Arran Islands, on Clare and Achill Islands, as well as on the mainland, will not landlord cruelty beget despair in the evicted, and drive them into the ranks of Secret Organizations?

Coerce the landlords, and protect the tenants! This is the only potent means of stopping disorders in Ireland.

It is time, moreover, that landed proprietors should understand that the altered circumstances of international traffic, by bringing to their doors the agricultural produce of the remotest countries, make it difficult for European farmers to hold their own in the inevitable competition. Rent only represents the productiveness of landed property. When the market value of produce is lowered, rent should go down with it.

It is monstrous to exact from the Irish tenant-farmer the high rent for which he bargained when he made his fifteen years' purchase. Agricultural values have all changed since then, why hold the tenant to the terms of a contract which these fluctuations have rendered it impossible for him to keep.

You profess to be desirous of promoting the interests of the farmer class, because on their prosperity, in a country where agriculture is the only industry left for the laboring masses, depend both the general prosperity and the peace of the community. Show by your deeds that you will not have these interests sacrificed.

Protect the tenant-farmers, then, as well as the farm-laborers.

Once more I say—protect also your fishermen; and be both prompt and liberal in developing the Fisheries of Ireland. To us Americans, to travelers from the Continent, it is a strange, an inconceivable folly, that the teeming seas which bathe Ireland on every side, should be to Irishmen, as were the gold fields of California or the diamond fields of South Africa, before the coming of white men,—mines of exhaustless wealth, but by the Savage Tribes unappreciated, by you, the Rulers of Ireland, neglected.

This neglect was both foolish and criminal. It is so at this moment.

Are English Statesmen, so keen to protect British interests in Afghanistan, and China, and Egypt, and Zululand, blind to the necessity of making the beautiful island, lying at their very doors, and forming, as they say, *an essential part of the Empire,* a mine of wealth to its own inhabitants, and a credit to its rulers? Is the development of the Irish Fisheries, not a British interest?

Are not the Ministers of England touched by no sense of shame or remorse, when they see what splendid results the munificence of Baroness Burdett-Coutts has produced in the fisheries of Baltimore and the Cape-Clear Islands? Can they not learn from the prosperity and independence which one noble-hearted woman has diffused among a population apparently doomed to hopeless poverty, and by the magnificent demonstrations of that people's gratitude,—that the wealth of love in the Irish heart is deeper and more exhaustless than the ocean beyond their shores, and that they only wait for the helping hand of a liberal Government, to be up and outstripping their neighbors in the race of intelligence and industry?

Can England afford for ever to neglect or despise these priceless and now most needful treasures of Irish love and devotion? Can she afford to allow all the untold resources of Irish intelligence, ability, and heroic courage, to be like the seas on her coast only sources of danger in storm and wrath.

I hear of Government grants for piers and harbors of refuge dealt out with a niggardly hand here and there. What would not a single million generously spent, not only in such constructions at the most important points on the coast, but in loans granted to the fishermen to enable them to purchase and equip suitable craft for deep-sea fishing,—do to rouse the energies of a down-trodden population?

In the Cromwellian Plantation of Connaught, your English Parliament decreed to surround that Province all along its sea-board with a military colony several miles in depth. The irrepressible Celt, like the tide, overflowed all the unnatural obstacles you opposed to their expansion.

Believe me—it were a wise political economy to create all around the coasts of Ireland miles deep of happy fishermen's and cottiers' homes. Do you not need more and more every day a population of such sea-faring men as all London and all England admired in the Irish Fishermen at the late Exhibition.

Develop your Fisheries, then!

And make haste to resuscitate Irish Industries and Trade. If Ireland be—as Englishmen say—an essential part of the Imperial Power made up of the Three Kingdoms,—then have as tender a care for the industries of Cork and Dublin and Belfast and Limerick, as you have of those of London and Bristol and Manchester and Leeds. Show as much concern for the harbors of the Sister Isle as you have for those of Liverpool and Cardiff and Glasgow.

I adjure you, in your own dearest interest,—delay not longer to provide for all Irishmen profitable labor. Ireland counted more than five millions within her borders ten years ago: how happens it that she has less than five millions in 1885?

Has the land devoured its inhabitants? No! They starved in it, or fled from it because there was in it neither labor nor food for man.

To what purpose do you establish your system of National Schools, your Boards of Intermediate Education, your Royal University with its central schools throughout the island? What do you intend to do with your Scientific College here in Dublin, and your University degrees for Civil Engineering? Where are these swarms of bright, intelligent, thoroughly educated boys and youths to find a field of labor for their acquired knowledge here in Ireland?

I can understand and admire in Paris the great Central School of Arts and Trades (*Arts et Métiers*), and the thoroughly practical education given to the pupils of the Polytechnic School, when they leave it and choose each his own profession. France neglects no field of skilled labor. And, after all, her toilers are better paid than those of England, better even than ours in America.

Where are their fields for skilled labor in Ireland? And how long is this going to be as it is? How long will you continue to force your hundreds of thousands of Irishmen to fly from the dear land of their fathers,—and to increase that awful host of England's irreconcilable foes, which is ever growing, growing, growing beyond the Atlantic, like a storm-cloud black and big with the fate of England?

These words are not addressed to you in hatred; but in exhortation made intense by the forecast of mighty perils to which Englishmen are wilfully blind, and by the memory of the terrible record of wrong, from which I have taken a few pages for this book.

But you must cease to govern Ireland as you have done hitherto.

The despotism and corruption and infamy of your Dublin Castle Rule, are a disgrace to the civilization of the nineteenth century, a reproach to British statesmanship and political wisdom.

Cease to misgovern a proud, a highly sensitive, and highly moral people by men not of their own blood, and out of sympathy with the national character, feelings, and aspirations.

Give Ireland back her Nationhood, her own Constitution, her Parliament as it existed when Grattan's genius, patriotism, and eloquence shone in it like the radiance of the evening star after sunset in the western sky. Nothing but the restoration of her Nationhood to Ireland can ever satisfy the mighty yearning of the Irish heart at home, or appease the ardent desires of the millions of the Irish race abroad.

"The desire of national freedom"—it has been truly and eloquently said—"and the hope of it never left the national heart. . . . It is always there—a vehement, deep-seated, wide-spread, apparently indestructible national instinct, underlying every agitation, outliving every concession, flashing in the eye, flushing in the cheek of most Irishmen and women, rich and poor, educated and ignorant, Catholic and Protestant, of Celtic descent and of Saxon descent. Popular speakers know well, and they have known it any time these eighty-five years, that if they want really to move any great popular audience in Ireland, they can only do so by striking this chord." *

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* John George MacCarty, "A Plea for the Home Government of Ireland," p. 28.

This restoration of Home Rule or Self-Government would only be an act of justice, a tardy reparation of one of the greatest wrongs ever inflicted by one people on another. On January 22, 1799, in the Irish House of Commons,—a purely Protestant House, be it remembered,—in the first discussion as to the "desirability of a union," it was moved and carried by a majority of five and after a debate of twenty-two hours' duration, "that the undoubted birthright of the people of Ireland, *a resident and independent legislature, should be maintained*."

Give the people of Ireland, without any distinction of creed, a chance to vote this very year, on the acceptance of this proposition, and nineteen-twentieths of her population will be for the affirmative.

The Union was consummated by a commercial transaction. Besides the offices, preferments, and peerages bestowed on the members of both Houses in return for their votes, £1,260,000 were paid in bribes,—and the amount added to the Irish national debt! One hundred members of the lower house, however, were faithful to their country; no bribe, no offer, no threat availed to make them consent to barter away the birthright of their people.

It is time to restore what was so iniquitously obtained.

It was an iniquitous transaction under every one of its aspects;—the compact was tainted with a radical vice, which rendered it totally and for ever invalid. The Irish peers and representatives had no powers from the nation by which they could sell to the English Ministry the Constitution of their country, or pronounce a decree annihilating the assembly in which they had the honor to sit.

It is a restoration founded on reason. In our day the tendency is toward self-government by the people and for the people in all civilized countries. England herself is the first to encourage this tendency, not only among peoples of different race in all parts of the world, but in her own colonies and dependencies. She has treated French Canada with a wise liberality, respecting for one hundred and thirty years the compact formed with the colony on its cession by France. Religion, language, laws, and customs,—all have been sacredly left untouched by the hand of British domination. And now the Province of Quebec is among the brightest gems in the imperial diadem.

How different has been England's treatment of Ireland! The very same reign which witnessed the bestowing on French and Catholic Canada the boon of self-government, beheld the suppression of the Irish Parliament and Constitution. Since the nineteenth century began, England for once only thought it necessary to rule Lower Canada by a Coercion Bill. It was only a temporary suspension of the common law, and was succeeded by a larger and more desirable measure of self-government.

How is it, on the other hand, in Ireland?

"Interwoven with abortive land schemes and land measures was incessant uninterrupted coercive legislation. From 1796 to 1802 an Insurrection Act was in force, and from 1797 to 1802 the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. Insurrection Acts were in force from 1807 to 1810, from 1814 to 1818, from 1822 to 1825. Habeas Corpus was again suspended 1822 to 1823. In 1829, in the debate on Catholic Emancipation, Sir Robert Peel was able to say that 'for scarcely a year during the period that has elapsed since the Union, has Ireland been governed by the ordinary course of law.' From the date of that utterance to the present day the country has not been governed by the ordinary law for scarcely a single year. Arms Acts, suspensions of Habeas Corpus, changes of venue, Peace Preservation Acts, and coercive measures of all kinds, succeed, accompany, and overlap each other with melancholy persistence. Roughly speaking, *Ireland from the Union to 1885 was never governed by the ordinary law.* The Union, according to its advocates, was to be the bond of lasting peace and affection between the two countries; it was followed by eighty-five years of coercive legislation. It was grimly fitting that the Union so unlawfully accomplished, could only be sustained by the complete abandonment of all ordinary processes of law thereafter." *

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* J. H. McCarthy.

As these lines are penned the British Parliament has assembled, under the double cloud of disaster in the Soudan, and 'Dynamite outrages' at home, Irish discontent continuing unabated, and the just demands of the nation remaining unsatisfied. The Ministry have it in contemplation to renew the Coercion Act in force these last four years. . . . How long is this to last?

Let common sense as well as common justice prevail over the perverse counsels of the "Conservative Minority" in Ireland, and the prejudices of public opinion in England.

Common sense, in matters pertaining to politics and to government, demands that "the rights and advantages of one mass of population, their prosperity, industry, well-being, property, national benefits of soil, situation, and climate, their manners, language, religion, nationality in spirit or prejudice," should not be "set aside and sacrificed to those of another mass," when both have to live together side by side, bound to each other by one political tie. "The principle of Federalism (or Home Rule, or self-government under a distinct national constitution as in 1782) seems a more natural and just principle of general government, theoretically considered, than this forced centralization. . . . The peculiar internal welfare of each part according to its own peculiar internal circumstances, physical and moral, . . . is in its own keeping, in its own internal legislative and administrative powers. . . . Nature forbids by the unalterable differences of soil, climate, situation, and natural advantages, or by the equally unalterable moral differences between people and people, that one government can equally serve all, be equally suited to promote the good of all."*

Certain it is that all attempts to govern Ireland from London, or to have an English Parliament make laws for a people whom the Legislators do not know, utterly misunderstand, and persist in misunderstanding, have proved disastrous failures,—disastrous to unhappy Ireland, disastrous to England, and most disastrous at this momentous crisis in imperial affairs, when a union of affection between the two countries would enable the British Empire to triumph over every enemy and to laugh at all difficulties.

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* Laing, "Notes of a Traveller," pp. 25–27.

Why not give to Ireland, what is only the birthright of all Irishmen, SELF-GOVERNMENT, what she grants to the smallest and most remote of her colonies? Why does she refuse to Ireland what she grants to the Isle of Man, and to the Channel Islands, Jersey and Guernsey? Is it because the Irish are Celts? But so are the Manx, and so are the inhabitants of the Channel Islands? Or is it because, if an Irish Parliament were to sit once more in College Green, the majority of the Lower House would be Catholics,—whereas in the little islands mentioned they are Protestants? Will England consent to declare before the civilized world that Ireland can never be self-governed because the majority of her children are Catholics? and that jealousy or fear of a hostile religion, the religion of the majority of Christendom, prevents the accomplishment of a wise, political, and imperative act of justice and reparation?

It must be done.

Before the ill-omened Union of both countries was effected, Grattan warned the English Prime Minister that in taking away from Ireland her own parliament, he was "pulling down one of the pillars of the British Empire." That Empire has grown so unwieldy that it needs to be propped up solidly. It cannot afford, at the very moment when Russia is entering Afghanistan, and knocking at the gates of India, when England's military prestige has been lost at both extremities of the African Continent, when Italy is profiting by England's weakness and isolation to effect a landing on the Abyssinian coast, and when both Germany and France are warily watching the blunders of British policy and strategy in Egypt,—to have Ireland like a paralyzed limb to be dragged forward helplessly, instead of having it in a sound, healthy condition to help the body politic in prompt, energetic, united effort.

It is for Englishmen supremely impolitic and supremely unwise to put forward as a reason for not restoring to Ireland her legislative

SIR CHARLES GALVIN DUFFY.

independence, the pretence that Irishmen are unpractical, and incapable of governing themselves.

It is supremely impolitic; because England's need of Irish brains, of Irish dash, of Irish bone and sinew, is supreme at this moment, if ever. You need an Irish Dufferin in India, as you needed him badly in St. Petersburg, and Constantinople, and Canada, just as you needed an Irish Gough a few years ago; you needed an Irish Gordon in the Soudan, and he would have saved your honor and increased your prestige, if your bungling had not sacrificed him. Now your Irish Wolseley, who has saved that prestige in both hemispheres, runs the risk of falling, like his companion in arms, the Irish Herbert Stewart, a victim to the same administrative stupidity which persists in controlling the war in the Egyptian deserts from Westminster or Downing Street. All the world knows that you are as ignorant in regard to Ireland, her people, her wants, and her resources, as you are about the Mahdi, and his brave Arab tribes, and the vast country which is their home, and where you have no business.

Sir George Grey, no bad judge of men, says that the Irish people "possess the faculties of legislation and administration in an equal degree with any other nation on earth."

"Irishmen," says the London 'Spectator,' "have shown an aptitude for government of the hard, personal, practical kind. . . . Whether D'Arcy McGee, or General Sheridan, or Mr. Duffy, the Irishman abroad is a stern, clear man . . . . inventive, resourceful, far-seeing, and brave. . . . An Irish civil service composed of such men, picked for the work, trained for it, and encouraged to be independent, *would govern the country as it has never been governed yet,* with a force, a directness, and honesty which in a few years would suppress all opposition, and make the law what it has become under more difficult circumstances in India, the final arbiter. This, we may rely on it, is the only kind of government which suits the national genius, and the only one which in Ireland will ever reconcile freedom with order."

Cease to revile the Irish People.

Remember how much you have done to debase and degrade the Catholic majority. Even now, if you only listen attentively to the angry complaints, and bigoted expostulations of those who represent the old Protestant Ascendancy, you will discover that every Parliamentary or Administrative measure tending to treat the four millions of Irish Catholics with justice or equity,—is denounced as a wrong done to the minority.

The English Parliament is only beginning to understand that these four millions of Catholics, whose ancestors were so long kept in enforced ignorance and the most abject poverty, send to your public examinations of every grade, a host of children of both sexes, able to compete in intelligence with the youth of any country in Christendom.

The official yearly Results are there to attest this magnificent aptitude for the highest knowledge, and for success in every public career.

The Irish are your equals in the gifts of mind.

As it is your vital interest so to treat Ireland that she may be able and willing to put her whole strength into her joint action with you on any point of the globe, or in any emergency, so must you labor to create a united Ireland, an Ireland in which all the vital forces of the entire people can be used for all high and holy purposes.

Cease, then, to encourage in Ireland the divisions and antagonisms which have been her bane in the past and which form at present the great obstacle to her happiness and greatness. You have dealt one mortal blow at the tyrannical Protestant Ascendancy of old by the disestablishment of 1869. Do not encourage the Orange faction to take this Ascendancy, every now and then, from its grave, place it on its old war-horse, like the dead body of the Cid Campeador, and trot it out to frighten men, who are acquainted with the fraud.

The Orange faction know that their day has gone by for ever. Their Catholic fellow-countrymen are ready to cast aside every offensive weapon, and to extend to them the right hand of brotherly affection.

It is not from the Catholic body, no matter how large their numbers may be, or how overwhelming the majority they would command to-morrow in their own Parliament, that their Protestant fellow-countrymen should expect intolerance, oppression, or foul play. All the national antécedents, as recorded in history, forbid the entertaining of such apprehension.

Protestants have been, in every struggle for national liberties, the boldest and most eloquent champions of Ireland. They are so still. And they know how little their co-religionists have to fear from a Catholic reaction.

Irish Catholics have suffered wrong, instead of inflicting it. They will be the first to forgive, and to forgive generously. The Protestants have, confessedly, been the wrong-doers. Are they going to prove the truth of the old pagan saying, that it is the man who has injured his brother, who can never lay aside his hate?

Beneath all the old hard crust of religious and political bigotry, beneath all the prejudices of birth and education,—there still beats a warm, generous Irish heart in the Orangeman's bosom. It is there that lies the hope of a cordial union in the future.

The Government still appeals to this antiquated bigotry and these stupid prejudices,—the Castle Government, that is.

Respect for the law and confidence in the impartiality and integrity of those who administer it, as local magistrates and justices of the peace,—are, you must acknowledge, essential to the peace and well-ordering of a community. How do you expect Ireland to be such a community, or the passions which separate Catholic from Protestant to be appeased and die out, if you give over the local magistracy and the ordinary administration of the law, to men from whom Catholics can expect neither impartiality, nor integrity, nor anything like justice?

Of the thirty-two lord-lieutenants in the counties of Ireland, only four are Catholics. The four millions of Irish Catholics are represented in the ordinary magistracy by 869 of their co-religionists; whereas the one million of Irish Protestants have 3,359 persons of their own faith in the Commission of the Peace.

This glaring disparity becomes still more hateful to a people so sensitive to injustice as the Irish, when one examines the qualifications which served as a recommendation to the Viceroy or the Lord Chancellor in the persons of the comparatively few Catholic magistrates. It seems downright oppression when one comes to look into the various counties, and to see how destitute the Catholic populations are left of all protection against injustice and foul play.

The same unjust inequality reigns in every single public department. The majority of the nation are absolutely excluded from some, as from the Post Office, and cannot be said to be at all represented in others far more important, such as that of public education.

In the reign of Elizabeth a Protestant University—Trinity College—was founded in Dublin and munificently endowed, then and at subsequent periods, out of the confiscated property of the ancient church. To this day it enjoys a princely revenue. Other educational establishments all over the land were likewise endowed with bountiful revenues by the English sovereigns, a few of them by private persons: all from out revenues derived from Irish sources, and many of them for avowed proselytizing purposes.

Every effort made, until now, to obtain even a University Charter for some great existing Catholic school, or the establishment of a National Catholic University has signally failed. It is thought sufficient to permit Catholic schools to send up students for examination before the Intermediate Board, or the boards of the Royal University. English liberality and toleration have not yet been able to muster courage enough to found and endow in much-plundered and much-wronged Ireland, a great University acceptable to the religion of the majority of Irishmen!

And yet you have done it in Quebec,—at least you have granted an imperial charter to Laval University, founded by the Seminary of Quebec, and maintained out of the resources bequeathed to the latter by Bishop de Laval-Montmorency.

Just as these pages are written the Government allows Convent and Monastery Schools, with their accomplished and admirable teachers, to receive some kind of due recognition and remuneration from the public treasury.

All these concessions come grudgingly, tardily, and by dribblets. Why can you not have the courage of being promptly and generously just?

The nations of the civilized world among whom exiled Irishmen and their descendants have lived for centuries, bear willing testimony, not only to their varied and splendid talents displayed in every department of the public service, but to their many virtues manifested in every walk of social life. They have noted their proverbial generosity of character, their keen resentment of wrong and that surpassing love of Justice praised long ago by Sir John Davies and Lord Chief Justice Cole.

I repeat it: Be generously just to Ireland. It will pay you well to be so, though even at the eleventh hour.

And be just before you are generous. Be just to the four millions that are left to you,—the remnants and representatives of the uncounted millions, destroyed at home by famine and the sword, or forced by your blind and unnatural policy to carry their talents, their virtues, and their resentment to every quarter of the globe. There are, at this moment, hundreds of thousands of Irishmen, within the borders of their native country, whom the proprietary system and the land-legislation imposed upon them by your Protestant Ascendancy, leave on the very verge of starvation. They are but too willing to work, if they can only find profitable work to do.

For your own sake, spend in ameliorating their condition, and in opening up the sources of industry which lie idle and locked up all around them,—some of those millions you are pouring like snowflakes on the waters of the Nile, or like rain on the sands of the Nubian Desert. Your greed and your folly are making enemies of the whole Mohammedan world. Make friends, before it is too late, of the Irish at your own doors.

Make haste to be both just and generous.

There may be yet time to conciliate the Irish at home. But when one reads such speeches as that just delivered in the Imperial Parliament by the Scotch Chief Secretary for Ireland, one despairs almost of ever seeing an English Ministry begin to learn the A B C of Irish politics. In presence of such inconceivable stolidity, what can Irishmen think, but that there is no hope for the pacification and prosperity of their country save in self-government? What can they do but look to themselves, and count on themselves alone?

No!—And when I say *make haste to be just to Ireland,*—it is to warn you, that Irishmen in Ireland shall not be left to depend on themselves alone. You can indeed afford to laugh at the "Dynamite Conspirators" in Paris or in London. Those in New York have done you no harm. Had your own gold subsidized every man of them, they could not have served your cause better, or helped more efficaciously to dishearten the true friends of Ireland abroad and her most devoted servants at home.

But the true friends of Ireland in the United States alone are four millions at least of Irish-born citizens or of citizens of Irish descent. I do not think that of that number ten thousand sympathize with or approve of any other methods of obtaining redress for Ireland, than those used by the Irish Parliamentary Party and its trusted leaders. And I shall go further and tell you, that with the Parliamentary Party while adhering to these methods in the cause of Ireland, every true man in the United States, even though not of Irish blood, is most heartily in sympathy.

There is an explosive force more potent than any devised by modern science,—that of PUBLIC OPINION indignant at the criminal unwillingness to right the gigantic wrongs of ages,—wrongs such as no people ever groaned under,—wrongs which still remain unredressed and practically unheeded, in spite of the oft-expressed blame of Christendom.

Remember how often it has been said: "England's extremity is Ireland's opportunity." Must it be also the opportunity of that Greater Ireland peopled with men and women and children in whose bosoms rankles the remembrance of all these unparalleled wrongs?

APPENDIX A.

There is no question but the tribal system (that of Septs), as could be easily foreseen, began to deteriorate in spite of all the influence of Religion. The great chiefs began to assume all the airs and rights of kings, and, although there was a continual reaction against their usurped power, this seems to have gone on increasing. The rivalry between chief and chief was shared by their respective Septs; and in their forays into each other's districts, it fared ill with churches, monasteries, and religious persons, as it did with the laity and their property. These wars were more destructive still, when they were waged by one of the provincial kings or overlords against another. The clergy were looked upon as hostile tribesmen and treated as such. All this violence and disorder required to be checked by the strong hand of Papal Rome.

Abundant proofs moreover of all that is said in the preceding pages about early Irish culture, are to be found in the writings of modern English scholars. In our day there exists, happily, a passion for consulting the ancient historical monuments collected in public libraries and museums both in Great Britain and in Ireland. These establish, beyond the possibility of contradiction, much more than we have advanced here in favor of the Irish apostolate of learning and sanctity.

The reader only has to open the works of the Most Rev. Dr. Moran, to find a whole treasury of erudition on this point. Two centuries after the invasion of Ireland by the Danes, we have evidence from English sources that the destruction wrought by these barbarians, and their pitiless persecution of priests and monks, did not succeed in blotting out from Ireland the fair fruits of former civilization or the last of the great schools, which had made her the Nurse of Scholars and Saints.

In 1070, the famous Sulgen (or *Sulgenus*) was Bishop of Menevia. This great monastery and monastic school founded by St. David, himself the son of an Irish mother, owed its growth and its fame for learning to Irish monks. One of these, known as "Johannes Erigena" (John the Irishman), there taught geometry and astronomy with such distinction, at the close of the ninth century, that Alfred the Great induced him to take up his abode in the royal palace, and become the preceptor of the young Saxon nobles. Sulgen, who came two hundred years later, was not satisfied with such knowledge as Menevia, or Glastonbury, or Lindisfarne afforded in his day; he quitted his see, resolved to seek in Ireland for such masters as could satiate his thirst of knowledge. After having been driven by a storm on the coast of Scotland, and suffering there a long detention, he was fortunate enough to reach his destination. But, like all superior minds eager to have, on every subject, the last words of Science, he was not satisfied with a brief sojourn in the Schools of

Ireland. Ten whole years spent in perfecting his knowledge on all subjects, sacred and profane, did not seem too long to the ardent student. Having thus gathered the ripest fruits Irish scholarship bore in those days, Sulgen returned to Menevia, bent on raising high the standard of learning in his own cherished *Alma Mater*.

A more illustrious example of this influence of Irish scholarship, is found in the person of the great St. Dunstan. "It was among the Irish monks of Glastonbury," says Dr. Moran, "that his genius was developed and his mind perfected in all the learning of that age. His ancient biographer writes, that 'numbers of illustrious Irishmen, eminently skilled in sacred and profane learning, came into England, and chose Glastonbury for their place of abode' (*Osbern, in Vit. S. Dunstani*). His latest historian is not less explicit; for he tells us that 'Dunstan was fortunate in finding the monastery of Glastonbury a seat of learning. . . . It was at this time occupied by scholars from Ireland who were deeply read in profane as well as in sacred literature. They sought to maintain themselves by opening a school to which the young nobility who resided in the neighborhood repaired for education' (HOOK, "Archbishops of Canterbury," vol. i. p. 382 and foll.). The details which have been handed down regarding his studies at Glastonbury give us some idea of the literary course pursued in the Irish monasteries at this period. He was first of all instructed in the Scriptures and the sacred writings of the Fathers of the Church. The ancient poets and historians then engaged his attention; but he showed a special taste for arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. His manual skill was equal to his intellectual power. Bells which he himself had made for Abingdon were still preserved there in the thirteenth century. At Glastonbury they showed crosses, censors, and ecclesiastical vestments, the work of his hands. Above all he loved the Scriptorium, and spent much of his time in writing and illuminating books. His skill in all branches of human science was so great, that the only plea his enemies could advance against him was, that 'he had been trained to necromancy by his Irish teachers in the island of Avalon'" (Dr. Moran, "Fruits of Irish Piety among the Britons," in Transactions of the Ossory Archæological Society, Part II. 1878).

We have just returned from Spain, where we studied in Seville itself, and among the rich treasures of the Archiepiscopal Library, the story of the "School of Seville" under SS. Leander and Isidore, from 579 to 632. Any one who takes up the interesting works recently written on this subject by German, French, and Spanish authors, cannot fail to be struck by the *universality* of knowledge inculcated, at the same period, in the Spanish as well as in the Irish and Anglo-Saxon schools. Of course, it is admitted by English writers themselves, that the matters and methods in both of the latter were identical, being taught by Irish masters.

Just as the piety, learning, and civilization cultivated by Leander and Isidore, leavened by degrees even the dominant and conquering Gothic race, and made them soon one in faith and nationality with the native Spaniards, even so the apostles of Irish education, who survived the massacres and destruction wrought by the Danes, tamed and civilized the fierce Northern Barbarians, and ended by making Christians of them. The destructive lava itself became soon clothed with the lovely vegetation of the soil.

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